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THE DIARY

OF

ANANDA RANGA PILLAI

TRANSLATED FROM THE TAMIL BY ORDER OF
THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

EDITED BY

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CONTENTS

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.

I

The present volume covers a period of sixteen months, with some material gaps, although none is so extensive or regrettable as that from December 8, 1753, to September 8, 1754, which separates the last volume from this, due, I presume, to the disappearance of one entire volume of the original diary. In that interval much had occurred. At Trichinopoly, which continued to be the main theatre of the Anglo-French struggle, the French had come within an ace of success by a boldly planned escalade, when the commandant, Killpatrick, lay sick, and the command had devolved on Lieutenant Harrison, who one night was suddenly alarmed by hearing the Grenadiers' march being beaten within his garrison and sustained musketry-fire along the walls. The French had succeeded in penetrating the enceinte, but by mischance their scaling-ladders were broken and a large number were penned up in a narrow space between the first and second walls, where they were obliged to surrender.

This failure was the last attempt to take Trichinopoly by assault, although the blockade, by joint French and Mysorean forces,

continued until a truce was concluded in October, and in the course of February, 1754, an important English convoy was surprised and destroyed. The other incident of moment in the Carnatic was the conference of French and English deputies at Sadras in January. At this meeting Dupleix put forward his claims to the government of India south of the Kistna, while the English asserted their right to a position of equality with the French. Neither would give way and the conference separated, as Dupleix had foreseen, and as he actually desired. His object indeed was not to make peace, but to put the English in the wrong.

Meanwhile in the Deccan, Bussy had continued to direct the forces of Salabat Jang. He had secured more than one of those singular victories which had resulted in the surrender of territory by the conqueror to the conquered; and had obtained as a material guarantee for the payment of his troops grants of the Circars lying north of Masulipatam, already a French possession. During most of the year 1754, the French were principally engaged in expelling the Marathas from their new territories and in effecting a settlement of the revenues. Bussy is stated to have settled with the renters and zamindars for a total sum of 18½ lakhs of rupees.

But these were trifles compared with the revolution which burst on Pondichery on August 2, when Godeheu landed with orders recalling Dupleix and authorising his arrest if he hesitated to obey. The new Governor was accompanied by 2,000 new troops, to enforce his will if need were ; but he was also directed to bring the struggle with the English to a close and to free the French Company's trade from the encumbrances of war.

These orders were the outcome, partly of Dupleix' failure to redeem his promises of peace and prosperity, partly of the great Frenchman's astonishing neglect to explain what his policy really was, and partly of the remonstrances of the English. In 1752 Dupleix had written to Saunders a letter of prodigious length emphasising and defending his claims. He had also sent copies home to Paris, with a suggestion that one might be sent on to the English directors. This was done, but never were expectations more disappointed. The directors addressed the ministry ; the English ambassador was desired to seek explanations ; he obtained a disavowal of Dupleix' conduct ; and three months later the French ambassador at the Court of St. James's was directed to give Newcastle private assurances that Dupleix would be recalled. The story was long believed that when the French minister

agreed to this, he made it a condition that Thomas Saunders, the English Governor of Madras, should also be summoned home—a condition which the English were alleged to have left unfulfilled. M. Cultru disposed of this story so far as Saunders was concerned, but believed that the English did not apply for the recall of Dupleix. As is seen from the foregoing they did so apply, but unofficially, so that nothing remained on the French record. Ranga Pillai's references to Saunders' continuance on the coast in the present volume support the view that the story of his supposed recall was not current at the time in Pondichery. It probably originated in Parisian gossip to which the various defences of Dupleix gave currency.

The present volume thus opens with a new Governor, Godeheu, at that great *Gouvernement* which Dupleix had built for his own magnificence, but had scarcely occupied two years; and a Governor who was charged with the duty of reversing the policy of Dupleix, which for all its possibilities had obtained little beyond private fortunes coupled with public disasters. The subject-matter of the Diary, from September, 1754, to December, 1755, falls therefore under three well-defined heads :—the winding-up of the policy of adventure; the inauguration of a new policy by Godeheu; and its

effects under Leyrit who succeeded Godeheu as Governor in the month of March. To these we may add the effects of such variations of persons and measures upon the personal fortunes and position of the diarist.

II

The leading event, in the first of these groups, was of course the assumption of office by Godeheu, on August 3, and the announcement of the recall of Dupleix, at that famous meeting of the Council at which the fallen Governor greeted the reading of Godeheu's Commission with the cry of *Vive le roi.* But this patriotic exclamation was not incompatible with the keenest displeasure at an event for which Dupleix had little time to prepare. The crucial matter was finance. The great Governor had made small difference between the public and private purse. Had he obtained the success he hoped for, there would have been enough to repay himself and still leave a respectable balance for the Company. But the disasters he had encountered; and the consequent occupation of great tracts of the Carnatic by the English in the name of Muhammad 'Alî, had fatally deranged his balances. Pâpayya Pillai, to whom the land revenue had been rented, was in arrears. Nandi Râjâ had not fulfilled his promised payments. Morâri

Râo was clamouring for the unpaid balance of his subsidies; the treasury at Pondichery was empty. On Godeheu's arrival Dupleix made an attempt to secure for himself the outstanding balances owed by Pâpayya, by claiming the Carnatic revenues as a private affair between himself and Salabat Jang, and impudently asserting that Pâpayya was the latter's Receiver General. It is hard to imagine a more convincing proof of the demoralisation into which the French Company's service had fallen. Godeheu rightly refused to admit the possibility of such a thing as the private holding of great public revenues ; he imprisoned Pâpayya in the hopes of extracting money from him ; and ignored Dupleix' allegations.

But though he laid Pâpayya by the heels, he failed to extract money from him. Perhaps Pâpayya had none—he had served an exacting master with a wife who spoke Tamil as well as she spoke French. But all Pondichery, and Ranga Pillai with it, believed that the late renter had sent to Madras and elsewhere great sums which by a wisely severe treatment he might have been made to disgorge. In this matter the diarist is a very hostile witness, and the story which he told Leyrit at a later time—that Pâpayya had four or five lakhs of rupees—rests probably on no better evidence than hearsay. But his criticism of Godeheu's

conduct—that the renter's employees were released before they had been obliged to produce accounts—stands on a different footing, and goes far to explain why the enquiry was never brought to a definite conclusion.

While this great matter was still pending, and while Dupleix himself must have been making hurried preparations for departure, other unsettled accounts stood little chance of being adjusted. Among these were the accounts apparently showing a balance due from Ranga Pillai. Although on September 13 the late Governor asked him why he had not brought them, yet he had not settled them when he unexpectedly went on board before dawn on October 15. This was specially annoying to the *Courtier*, because he had long owed the Company certain sums on account of transactions in coral and broad cloth, and had been promised a remission of the debt.

Annoyance at not obtaining Dupleix' acknowledgment of this probably added a touch of bitterness to the moralising with which of course the diarist relates this noteworthy departure. He had already recorded the belief that Dupleix was carrying off with him the jewels found in Nâsîr Jang's treasury and images from the temples. Now he dwells on the sudden downfall of his late master, and the indignity of his sailing without that

square flag at the mast-head which the Governor of Pondichery was entitled to fly. He recalls how Dupleix had been wont to say that he would like to lay his bones in the city which he had raised to so proud though brief an eminence. These are the fruits of women's advice, of froward councils, of not fearing God. Ranga Pillai had indeed little cause to praise Dupleix' conduct. It had long excluded him from a share in those political transactions in which it had ever been the custom to consult the *Courtier*, thus flattering his pride and possibly filling his pocket. Yet when, a few months later, Dupleix' name-day came round, Ranga Pillai remembered the feasts, the salutes, illuminations with which it would have been celebrated. The magnificence of the town had vanished with the great Marquis, and its short-lived greatness was to crumble like the belfry which Dupleix had built and which almost crushed his successor in its fall.

Thus ended that remarkable attempt to establish French rule over the whole of Southern India, serving at once as a model and a warning to the more fortunate English. Its radical weakness lay in the fact that the French could not command the long sea-route to India, so that at the first touch of actual war all the French schemes, intrigues, and

alliances collapsed like a house of cards. This was attested by the war destined to open within less than two years after the *Duc d' Orléans* had borne Dupleix away from Pondichery. It was attested by the war which followed, though English sea-power was then strained almost to the breaking-point, for even then the French failed to land their forces in India till the war was almost over. It was attested in the most striking form by the great war against Revolutionary France and Napoleon. Dupleix had indeed only secured such measure of success as he obtained under conditions which prevented British men-of-war from blockading Pondichery and cutting off his supplies and reinforcements.

The second main defect of the policy of Dupleix has usually been considered to lie in the corruption of his rule, the bribes which he and Bussy and their subordinates accepted, the peculation which reigned in their revenue-administration. This was necessarily a source of great weakness. A purer administration would undoubtedly have permitted more regularly paid troops; more regularly paid troops would have been better disciplined, would have fought more bravely, would have been more victorious. But corruption, though a source of weakness, was not necessarily a cause of collapse. The

English administration of Bengal from the battle of Plassey to the arrival of Cornwallis cannot be called pure; the English administration of Madras from the fall of Pondichery to the assumption of the Carnatic was little better than the administration of Dupleix. The administration of the Dutch in Java, of the Portuguese in Mozambique, of every colonising power in the West Indies—the administration, in short, of every tropical dependency in the 18th century was seamed with corruption. It was not then a fatal obstacle to the maintenance of power. I would suggest that the second main defect in the position of the French was less their corruption than the mutual jealousy which divided their councils and obstructed their success. As M. Martineau has well and truly said, "L'esprit de discipline et de méthode qui, dans la paix, prépare la force des nations, fut tout à fait étranger à la plupart des conseils qui administrèrent nos dépendances." In the age of Dupleix and long after they were almost incapable of good team-work.

An allusion in the present volume points to a startling example of this fatal defect. Madame Dupleix apparently told Godeheu that she had often concocted letters from the country powers and cautioned him against others who might use the same device.

Madanânda Pandit, the Persian munshi, admitted that he had in Madame's time been concerned in such tricks—that "he had done as he was told." We do not learn whether these forgeries were designed to deceive Dupleix or the authorities in France ; but whoever it was, we are necessarily left wondering how a policy liable to such influences could possibly succeed.

III

Godeheu remained at Pondichery just over six months in all—from the beginning of August 1754 to the middle of February 1755. This necessarily implied that in all matters of detail the new policy which he was sent out to inaugurate would be hastily adopted and might need subsequent alteration, as he had had no time to learn the interplay of the circumstances or the real value of the characters by which he was surrounded. Thus Ranga Pillai accuses him of having attached undue value to the opinions of the only Frenchman in Pondichery who understood Persian. This was Henri Delarche, whose name constantly occurs in Ranga Pillai's diary. He was the son of a captain in the French garrison and a Pondichery lady of mixed blood ; and at this time was 35 years old. He had been brought up in India, and was probably conversant with

Tamil as well as Persian, which latter tongue he had acquired when serving at the French Basra factory. He had married an Armenian lady, and so was in close touch with what went on in the Indian world. His knowledge of languages and his supposed honesty had recommended him to Dupleix; but he was more useful as an agent than as an adviser. Ranga Pillai did not like him, and his estimate of Delarche must be considered with caution; but the diarist's criticisms ot his advice to Godeheu, tinged as they are with jealousy at the intrusion of a European into his special domain, afford a curious proof of the extent to which the ideas of Dupleix had penetrated Pondichery. Chandâ Sâhib's family, now headed by the late Nawâb's son Razâ Sâhib, had continued to live among the French, even after Dupleix had made Murtazâ 'Alî of Vellore nawâb in succession to Chandâ Sâhib; but their dignity and state had fallen; they were above all anxious to recover their former consideration. There is no reason to doubt Ranga Pillai's hints that they bribed Delarche in order that he might persuade the new Governor to accord them the honours which they had formerly enjoyed. The intrigue succeeded. Razâ Sâhib was received with 21 guns, and treated as though he was master of the Carnatic. Thus did Godeheu—

in the *Courtier's* eyes—cast away half the glory which the French had acquired; the new Governor did not understand that he must jealously maintain his state.

Ranga Pillai, however, hardly grasped the revolution in policy which had taken place. To Godeheu and to the French Company who had sent him out, the pomp and dignity which Dupleix had assumed in his character of Naib of the countries south of the Kistna, were misplaced. The late Governor's object had been to impress Indian minds; but he had neglected the fact that, at the same time, he was provoking the English to hostility. Godeheu's scheme was to renounce all these external and provocative marks of honour, and to treat the French Nawâb as if he were a real power, while, at the same time, he held firmly to all those material gains which had survived the disasters of his predecessor—the territory still held round Pondichery and the Northern Circars. This was the policy which underlay the negotiations with the English—the truce concluded in October and the provisional Treaty signed in the following December. These relieved the French of that incessant warfare in which Dupleix had involved them, while they preserved the gains which he had acquired. What Godeheu hoped to secure was peace with the English as well as retention of

the French grants. As I have shown elsewhere, it was a skilful though uncandid policy.

The individual ally on whom the burden fell was not the Subahdar of the Deccan, as has usually been said, but the unfortunate Nandi Râjâ at Trichinopoly. Godeheu's policy made no difference to Salabat Jang at Hyderabad. Bussy and his contingent of French troops remained as before to support the ruler whom they had established. Nor did Godeheu's policy in the Carnatic affect the northern ruler. It is true that Ranga Pillai tells us of demands put forward by Salabat Jang to receive an account of the Carnatic revenues. But this was, I think, a mere device brought about by Dupleix to lend colour to that theory of the French financial arrangements which he had hurriedly invented on Godeheu's arrival. However much Dupleix and Godeheu might differ in general policy, neither had the least intention of administering the Carnatic for the benefit of its nominal overlord. Godeheu's negotiations made no difference to Salabat Jang.

But they made much to Nandi Râjâ. For nearly three years a large Mysorean army had lain before Trichinopoly, relying on the promises first of Muhammad 'Alî to deliver over the city when the French had been repelled,

and later of the French to help them in driving out the English. But neither Muhammad 'Alî nor the French had kept their word. The first had refused to hand over the place when Chandâ Sâhib had been caught and killed; the second had failed to make any impression on the English defence and were now retiring from the contest. Worse than that, the terms which Godeheu had made with the English prevented Nandi Râjâ from attempting to continue his efforts to acquire the southern provinces of Madura and Tinnevelly. He had spent great sums and obtained nothing by his French alliance.

The grievances however were not all on the one side. The diplomatic dexterity of Dupleix had obtained an agreement from Nandi Râjâ, when the hopes of getting Trichinopoly were still bright and fresh, that he would pay the expenses of the French troops before Trichinopoly and provide the Company with 3 lakhs of rupees a year besides. These payments had at first been made regularly. But presently it became clear that Nandi Râjâ had gone to war without counting the cost. His treasury sank; his payments to the French became irregular; in the last volume we saw his agents offering a sealed parcel of jewels for a loan. In short his allies were expensive and war could not be conducted round Trichinopoly at a profit. In

Godeheu's eyes the Mysorean also figured as an ally who had broken his word. He angrily asked the vakîl, who abounded in promises of regular payments, what he had given but words; and declined to continue the siege of Trichinopoly for the benefit of an ally who would not pay for it. Here also we find his plans inspired by the material interests of the moment.

Of the man himself we see or hear little; but what Ranga Pillai does record is, time and place duly considered, to the credit of this astute and unimaginative personage. We find him refusing twice the public offer of a diamond ring, made first by the diarist himself and afterwards by the Company's merchants, on the well-understood convention that it would be privately redeemed later for a sum of money; and when he enquires of the *Courtier* what opportunities of gain may occur, he is careful to explain that he wishes only to make money respectably, as had been done by Lenoir and Dumas, instead of imitating the ways of Dupleix and Madame.

IV

Godeheu's departure, in the middle of February 1755, was followed by an interregnum of five weeks, during which the Governor's powers were entrusted, not to an individual,

but to a commission of three councillors, headed by Barthélemy and known as the Secret Committee, though Ranga Pillai does not refer to it by that name. The interval was more interesting in private than in public events, as we shall see in the following section; and at last on March 25, after one false alarm, a vessel flying the square flag of the Governor of the French in India dropped anchor in the Pondichery roads ; and Duval de Leyrit came ashore, and was conducted over the sands along a path, made of cut grass with longcloth laid above it, to the *Gouvernement* in Fort Louis.

The new Governor was younger brother of Duval d'Espréménil, the brother-in-law of Dupleix and for a brief while commandant of Madras when that place was in French hands. The two had come out with the fairest prospects—their father was in the directorate of the Company ; but the elder had soon tired of India and gone home suddenly in 1747. The younger, after being for a while the chief of Mahé, became *Directeur* of Bengal in the year his brother went home, and now succeeded Godeheu in the command of the French settlements.

He is best known to history as the antagonist in India and the persecutor in France of the unfortunate Lally. But no one hitherto seems to have troubled to form an exact

judgment of his character. In this connection some passages in the present volume deserve attention. Miran, for instance, gives Ranga Pillai a lively description of de Leyrit. If he just listens, and bites his handkerchief without saying anything, he dislikes the proposal. At other times the watchful *Courtier* notices how the Governor keeps councillors waiting, how he merely listens to them without revealing his opinions, or how he wanders round gazing at the decorations of the *Gouvernement* scarcely deigning to speak to anyone. These incidental references, noted down on the spur of the moment, aptly illustrate the demeanour of this cold, silent, haughty man, whose solemnity covered little but dullness, self-seeking and irresolution. Those who wounded his feelings or his pocket, found him implacable in his resentment; but those who knew how to manage him found him plastic as clay. To the conduct of a man weak, ungracious and short-sighted, family interest had entrusted French affairs in India. It was a great triumph, and a great misfortune.

The nine months which followed de Leyrit's accession to power were not marked by any outstanding political events. The country remained as peaceful as could reasonably be expected. The disputes with the English regarding the administration (and revenue) of certain villages claimed by both sides when

the truce came into operation, dragged along without approaching an issue either by settlement or by an open breach. Another subject of difference cropped up—the English despatched an expedition under Colonel Heron to enforce Muhammad 'Alî's claims in Madura and Tinnevelly. The French declared this to be a violation of the truce, while the English regarded it as legitimate conduct in country in which the French had had no footing all through the war. The discussion left the two parties suspicious but still at peace. De Leyrit was not the man for a policy of adventure.

In this respect no doubt he resembled his predecessor; but he did not follow the same example in the matter of private gains. He was curious to know who had money at Pondichery, and how they had got it. He learnt—from Ranga Pillai—that no rich Indians were left, for they had all been sucked dry by Dupleix. Diamond rings now-a-days ran no risk of refusal. Ranga Pillai was expected to sell at a good price a parcel of olibanum which the new Governor had brought with him; and had been pointed out as the person who could if he would make de Leyrit's fortune. So long as that impression lasted, the *Courtier* on the whole enjoyed the Governor's favour, though not to the degree that he considered his due.

V

These changes in men and measures had profoundly affected, not only the course of French policy, but also the personal position of the *Courtier* at Pondichery. During the sixteen months covered by the present volume he enjoyed a second period of official favour, comparable to that which he had enjoyed until Madame Dupleix discovered there was money in politics. But this second summer of prosperity was grievously chequered by untoward events which must often have filled him with foreboding.

At first the change seemed wholly for the better. The removal of Dupleix and his wife removed the main obstacle to Ranga Pillai's recovery of political influence; and although in the first few weeks of Godeheu's government the *Courtier* held aloof, as uncertain of the reception his advice would meet, from about the middle of September he was taken into full favour, and enjoyed that power and dignity which he valued above money. No other Indian was allowed to wear his shoes in the Governor's presence. The Persian munshi, who presumed to claim a similar privilege, was threatened with a beating should he pre sume again. Ranga Pillai was consulted once more about the views and disposition of the country princes. He was entrusted with the

general management of Indian affairs within the city. He began to consider how he might recover the long-lost jaghir and killa at Chingleput granted him by Muzaffar Jang. Above all to him was confided the farm of the land revenues of the territories still dependent on Pondichery. He was thus the first Hindu, —his comments on the honours Godeheu accorded to Razâ Sâhib suggest that in his opinion he ought to have been the first Indian —in Pondichery. He seemed to have within his grasp the certainty both of honours and of wealth.

These hopes were strengthened before Godeheu's departure. On the second day of the New Year, when Ranga Pillai conducted the Company's principal Indian servants to present their annual offerings to the Governor, Godeheu publicly ordered them to make their reports to and take their orders from the *Courtier*, who at the same time received gifts of jewels, broad-cloth and cloth-of-gold while a salute of 15 guns was fired in his honour. A little later, when Godeheu was on the point of sailing for France, his promises were repeated and amplified. He would procure from the King presents and titles of honour for the faithful Ranga Pillai; the office of *Courtier* should be made hereditary in his family; special orders should be left, signed by Godeheu himself and all the Council,

restraining Barthélemy (the Second and interim chief) from acting to the *Courtier's* prejudice and enjoining de Leyrit to continue the management of affairs in the *Courtier's* hands. And all the bright hopes thus engendered were made the brighter by the receipt of letters from Duvelaer, one of the most influential directors in France. With his and Godeheu's support at home, and with the favour of the new Governor de Leyrit, Ranga Pillai must have felt well able to defy his enemies and believed his astrologer's predictions well on the way to fulfilment.

However before de Leyrit's arrival a circumstance, apparently quite trivial in itself, gave Ranga Pillai enormous annoyance. Among the Company's Indian servants was one designated the *Arumpâtai*, whose duties seem to have combined those of a minor accountant in Pondichery itself along with the very profitable employment of victualling troops in the field. The present occupant of the office—which like most others at this time was quasi-hereditary—was Vinâyaka Pillai. The diarist declared to de Leyrit that he had made four or five lakhs out of his employment, and that Vinâyakan had complained to Godeheu of his having had to give Dupleix two of them During the interregnum between Godeheu's departure and de Leyrit's arrival Barthélemy invested this worthy with the privilege of

having a roundel carried over him in public in return (as the diarist avers) for a present of 10,000 rupees.

It is unlikely that the offence resided merely in this very usual transaction. The dignity conferred was certainly reckoned great ; but so was the responsibility of the office. The real crime (in Ranga Pillai's eyes) was that he as *Courtier* had not been consulted in the matter, although the *Arumpâtai* was under his orders ; and, what was worse, he feared that Vinâyakan was intriguing to become *Courtier*. Tale-bearers informed him that a fortnight after de Leyrit's arrival, Vinâyakan had held a *cacheri* and announced his coming appointment. The tale exaggerated the fact ; but Vinâyakan was actually presented to the Governor by Barthélemy, and allowed to offer a *nazar* and receive a dress of honour, apparently provided at the recipient's own expense.

The severity of this blow was however softened by the magnificence with which Ranga Pillai celebrated the marriages of his daughters and other relatives. An elaborate, highly decorated *pandal* was erected. On the set day the diarist's two sons were sent each on an elephant, with rich howdahs, to bid the Governor and his Councillors to the wedding. They came in state, and remained from six till midnight, when they departed with costly

gifts—the Governor with an English cut diamond ring worth 500 pagodas, and Ranga Pillai's great enemy Barthélemy with one worth 100. Yet this splendid festivity was said to be not a hundredth part as fine as that which attended the marriage of our diarist's eldest daughter.

An attempt is said to have been made to turn this to his undoing. One of the many who grudged Ranga Pillai his restored influence and the revenue farm is related to have pointed out to de Leyrit that on the former occasion Dupleix had received a present of 40,000 rupees, although at that time the Company held no territory beyond the few villages dependent on Pondichery, so that the only persons to bestow gifts on Ranga Pillai himself had been the Company's merchants and the towns-people ; now that he must have laid all the revenue amaldârs and others under contribution, he must have received much more, and could easily have given the Governor a lakh, had he maintained the proportion of the former ceremony. If this story was really told to de Leyrit—and it is likely enough—it must have lingered in his mind, even though it had no immediate effect.

At the moment Ranga Pillai's position in the Governor's favour was secured by the promises he had made. On de Leyrit's arrival he had held himself in the back-ground, waiting

to see what attitude the Governor would assume towards him, and no doubt reckoning that his services would be more highly valued if de Leyrit were left to seek them instead of finding them pressed upon him. De Leyrit had moreover heard of the *Courtier.* On the voyage down from Bengal a member of the Council, Lenoir by name, had apparently sung Ranga Pillai's praises, as the person most capable of looking after the Governor's interests. On his arrival other councillors, notably Boyelleau, had confirmed the speeches of Lenoir. On the other hand Barthélemy had pressed Vinâyakan on his attention and had probably depreciated Ranga Pillai's capacity for service. But Barthélemy's reputation did not stand high. A black mark had been set on him by Godeheu's refusal to leave him in independent charge of the settlement until de Leyrit's arrival. On the whole then the new Governor was probably prepossessed in the *Courtier's* favour ; and this feeling may well have been strengthened by Ranga Pillai's attitude. On April 2, the affair of Vinâyakan broke down the *Courtier's* reserve. In a curious interview he reproached the Governor for the undeserved favours he had shown to Barthélemy's protégé, and declared himself anxious to promote the Governor's profit "if you also will listen to no advice but mine." This de Leyrit was quite prepared to do—on condition that it was

materially beneficial—and he proceeded formally to recognise the diarist as *Courtier*. Ranga Pillai failed to secure all the honours he desired. He had hoped to be received with military honours in passing the Town and Fort Gates. His friends in Council did not venture to recommend such a deviation from custom; but he was received with the same honours which had been accorded him by Godeheu.

So far matters seemed shaping tolerably well. But Ranga Pillai was soon to find that he had strong enemies. Delarche, for example, succeeded in interfering in the management of affairs with Razâ Sâhib; thus trenching again on what had been—in the old days before the French had become a political power—the *Courtier's* special field of business. More threatening still was the matter of the revenues. On de Leyrit's arrival, when he assured Ranga Pillai that he should be continued in his farm, he had spoken warningly about the need of regular payments. Then, when two old amaldârs under Pâpayya Pillai refused to give in their accounts, Ranga Pillai beat one and confined him. Barthélemy intervened and got him released. Then came up the matter of the European sureties, which requires more explanation than is to be found in the diary.

Very little is known about the brief history of French land revenue administration in the

Carnatic. Some documents of a later date are to be found in the *mémoires* issued on behalf of Lally and de Leyrit; but these relate to a subsequent and even more disordered period than the present. There are a few references to Ranga Pillai's management in the extracts printed by Dupleix in his *Réponse à la lettre du sieur Godeheu.* But the chief source of information is provided by letters written in 1756 and 1757 by Ranga Pillai himself, copies of which I found among the Gallois-Montbrun papers at Pondichery, and was permitted to transcribe by the courtesy of their owner. I hope to print these as appendices to the later volumes of the Diary to which they more properly relate.

It appears that when the land revenues were taken from the charge of Pâpayya Pillai, they were separated into a number of leases, given each to a single person for whom inhabitants of Pondichery, approved by Godeheu, stood surety. But in January, when an 18 months' truce with the English was proclaimed, it was thought that a larger amount could be secured. Ranga Pillai offered—or was, as he himself says, over-persuaded to offer—a lakh and a half of rupees more than the total of the existing leases. What this total was I have not found stated; but the leases were cancelled, and the whole revenue management transferred to the *Courtier* for five years. He

proceeded to sub-let the revenues to various farmers; and it is stated in the diary that the great cause of Barthélemy's enmity against him was his refusal to grant him Gingee at less than the regular rent. However in several cases he accepted Europeans as sureties for sub-farmers whom they recommended to him. They were for the most part the military commandants of the districts concerned. On the strength of their leases from Ranga Pillai they interfered in the administration of the amaldârs, made collections, vexed and ill-treated the inhabitants, but made no remittances to Pondichery, so that Ranga Pillai could only meet his obligations to the Company by borrowing on his private credit. Meanwhile in November he was reduced to complain to the Governor that the persons who had stood sureties for the old renters would not pay what was due under the leases that had been cancelled. On the 13th of November some were called before de Leyrit and ordered to pay; and on the 16th others appeared. But although the *Courtier* had thus far the support of the Governor's authority, the situation was evidently threatening, and the year closed with a great uncertainty whether he would be able to continue the payments on account of his lease.

ÂNANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY.

SEPTEMBER 1754.

Sunday, September 8.[1]—When the Governor[2] returned from church this morning, M. Delarche was talking with him. I went when he sent for me and he asked why Taqî Sâhib had not given him a dress of honour. I said, 'He has been trying to see you for the last four days, but you were busy writing letters with closed doors, so he did not bring it.'—'Tell him to bring it at half-past four this evening,' he said. I said I would do so, and told him that the master-gunner should be ordered to fire a salute of five guns. He told me to send a peon for the master-gunner. When he came, I gave him the proper orders and sent him away.

M. Delarche then said that we ought to have men at Madras and Cuddalore to report the arrival and departure of ships. I said I would see to it. He continued, 'It does not matter even if it cost 100 rupees a month to get the news. I will also write to my Armenian friend at Madras to get news.'[3]

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[1] *27th Âvani, Bhava.*

[2] That is, Godeheu who arrived at Pondichery on August 2.

[3] It was usual for the rival settlements to maintain a close watch upon each other's trade, which was a subject of regular report to the Companies at home.

The Governor approved and added, 'I hear that three ships have reached Cuddalore with troops. Is that true?' I said that it was,[1] and added, 'Some of the soldiers who were landed, were sick and some have been sent to Trichinopoly by way of Devikôttai. More ships are coming. I hear that a new Governor of St. David's has been appointed; Mr. Saunders has been appointed Commissioner to make peace[2] and Mr. Pigot at Vizagapatam is coming as Governor of Madras.[3] The terms of peace will be discussed when he reaches Madras.' M. Delarche said, 'I have heard that. This Pigot, who is Chief at Vizagapatam and who has been appointed Governor of Madras, was only a young writer ten years ago.' The Governor did not take up the subject but said that Mr. Starke[4] would become the Second at Madras. After talking thus for about a

[1] This was Watson's and Adlercron's expedition. The *Britannia* reached Fort St. David September 1, and the *Kent* and *London* soon after her. They carried part of Adlercron's regiment. Watson with H.M.SS. *Kent* and *Salisbury* arrived September 9. The whole expedition comprised four ships of the line with a frigate and a sloop, and about 900 royal troops.

[2] He had received orders to enter into a provisional treaty, but it made no difference to his position as Governor.

[3] George Pigot, son of Richard Pigot of Westminster, was born in 1719, and came out writer in 1737. He was a brother of the Admiral Pigot who was sent out to replace Rodney in the West Indies in 1782. He became a prisoner when Madras was taken in 1746, and went home where he remained till 1750. After serving a short time at St. David's, he was appointed Chief of Vizagapatam. He succeeded Saunders as Governor when the latter resigned in January 1755. He must then have been thirty-six—an early age.

[4] See Vol. VIII, p. 164, n. 1, *supra*.

quarter of an hour, I took leave, but M. Delarche stayed behind for five minutes. M. Desfresnes then went away with M. Clouët. I went to my office.

He then sent for me at eleven o'clock to give me a letter from Safdar Husain of Kalavai, saying that a dress of honour was being sent with congratulations on his appointment as Governor. When the messenger who brought the letter was questioned, he presented the dress of honour. The Governor received it and said that Taqî Sâhib's dress of honour could be presented this afternoon. He told me to write a reply with compliments to Safdar Husain Sâhib, killedar of Kalavai. He also told me to get the letters translated into French. I said I would do so and came away.

At four o'clock this evening Taqî Sâhib's presents and cloth, and those of the poligar of Turaiyûr were carried in the Governor's palankin from my office to the Governor's house with music and dancing. When Taqî Sâhib's presents had been given, a salute of five guns was fired. Taqî Sâhib's presents were as follows :—

A horse ;
a *muhamudi*[1] ;

[1] Cf. *Country Correspondence*, 1749, p. 37. "A Mahomodey Jamavar." I take it the word here signifies a dress after the Muhammadan fashion.

a turban ;
a *mattakakâ*[1] ;
a *sarpêch* ;
and a *jâmawâr*, along with a dress of honour for his younger brother.

The Turaiyûr poligar's presents were :—

A shining dress of honour and five jewels for the Governor and five more for his younger brother.

The Governor was delighted with the jewels when they were presented to him, and graciously read the French statement presented by the Turaiyûr poligar's people. The vakîls who had come were given leave after receiving rose-water and *pân supârî*. The Governor then drove out to Ariyânkuppam in the evening for the festival[2]; but when he returned at about nine o'clock, he found the gate closed. He sent word to the Major, and, having obtained his orders, entered and went home. Till then I had been at my office but then came home.

I ate my supper at eleven o'clock ; and at half-past eleven, as my younger brother[3] was breathing his last, I visited him and had all the ceremonies performed. When he had given me his last commissions, his soul left his body

[1] Not identified.
[2] The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin. The Jesuits had a church at Ariyânkuppam.
[3] Tiruvêngadam Pillai.

at midnight and reached the feet of God. He was born in the year Vijaya, 7th day of the month of Mârgali,[1] under nakshatra Pûrva Âshâda, at 25 nâligais at night in Tulâ lagna.[2] Venus and Râhu were then in the next house to the Lagna Vrischika ; in the third house from Lagna, that is, in Dhanus, there were the Sun, Mercury and the Moon ; in the fourth house, that is, in Makara, there was Mars ; in the fifth house, that is, in Kumbha, there was Jupiter ; in the eighth house, Vrishaba, there was Kêtu ; in the tenth house, Karkataka, there was Gulika ; in the eleventh house, Simha, there was Saturn. Pirambûr Tiruvêngadam Pillai's second son, Tiruvêngadam Pillai, was born under this horoscope. He was married in the year Râkshasa in the month of Âni, on the 11th day.[3] His son was born in Nala year, 19th day of Mâsi on Tuesday at 27 nâligais at night in Makara lagna.[4] His daughter was born in Raudri on Saturday, 10th Arppisi at 24 nâligais in Kanyâ lagna.[5]

He lived in pleasure like Indra, in giving like Karna, in intellect like Yûgi the minister, in courage like the Himalaya mountain, in

[1] December 7, 1713.
[2] For these and the following astrological terms, the reader may be referred to Dîwân Bahâdûr Swâmikannu Pillai's *Indian Chronology*, Madras, 1911.
[3] June 10, 1735.
[4] February 15, 1737.
[5] October 11, 1740.

grandeur like the ocean ; he thus lived 40 years, 8 months and 20 days, and died in Bhava year on Sunday, the 27th day of Âvani between 15 and 16 nâligais after night-fall. Then every member of our household felt as if the whole world had come to an end. The moment of his death was in Mithuna lagna. under nakshatra Rôhini. The horoscope for that moment is the year Bhava, Sunday, 27th day of Âvani, the sixth tithi in the dark fortnight; at $6\frac{3}{4}$ nâligais, the 7th tithi began; the nakshatra was Krittika until $20\frac{3}{4}$ nâligais ; and of nakshatra Rôhini 26 nâligais had elapsed at the moment of death. The Karana Bhadrava ended at $6\frac{3}{4}$ nâligais by day ; the Varjyam for night was nothing. In the third house, Simha, at this moment were Jupiter, the Sun, and Mercury ; in the fourth house, Kanyâ, were Venus, Mars and Râhu ; in the seventh house Dhanus, there was Saturn. In the tenth house, Mîna, there was Kêtu. In the twelfth house, Vrishaba, there was the Moon. In this position of the planets he died.

Horoscopes for the birth of his son and daughter.

	Venus.	Saturn, Mars.	
Jupiter, Mercury, Kêtu, Sun.	Appâvu's horoscope.		
Lagna / Moon.			Râhu.

			Jupiter, Râhu.
	Kulandai's horoscope.		Mars, Saturn.
Kêtu.	Moon.	Sun, Mercury.	Venus.

Monday, September 9.[1]—The corpse was carried to the burning ground this morning, in an ivory palankin, with music, roundels, peacock-fans, &c., followed by the great men and the Company's merchants of the town. Guns were fired; cloths spread on the road up to the burning ground; and while the corpse was being carried thither with all these marks of honour, and during its burning, two Brâhminy kites circled round.[2] The ceremonies were completed by ten, and all returned about eleven o'clock.

I heard this evening that M. Aubert, who has been sending away his property little by little, had fled to Fort St. David with M. Guyonnet's wife.[3] I am told that he owes Nallatambi Arunâchala Chetti 11,000 rupees and Nambi, Arunâchala Chetti, Tâni Chetti, Muttu Chetti, Irisappa Chetti and Muttu Chetti jointly, 8,000 rupees. These say they

1 *28th Âvani, Bhava.*

2 An auspicious omen. See Thurston's Ethnographic Notes, p. 247.

3 There was a very able surgeon of this name at Pondichery. The English records do not appear to mention the incident.

have his bonds for the amounts. As I could not go out,[1] I told them to go and complain to the Governor.

Tuesday, September 10.[2]—To-day, I heard the following news :—

The old Governor sent for M. Dusaussaye and told him that Pâpayya Pillai had been kept in prison for the last month without food, so that his stools were bloody and he himself at the point of death. Therefore he desired him to go to the new Governor and tell him to permit Pâpayya Pillai to take his food at home, as otherwise his accounts could never be settled. M. Dusaussaye informed M. Delarche, who told M. Godeheu, the new Governor. He did as he was desired. But as Pâpayya Pillai cannot even walk, he was carried in a covered palankin with an escort of 8 soldiers and 8 sepoys. His son, Alankâram, who is imprisoned in the Fort dungeon, Sundara Pillai's younger brother Chandrasêkhara Pillai, and Gangâdhara Pillai, who are also imprisoned, accompanied him to his house. The soldiers stood by even during their meal ; and then they were carried in the covered palankins back to their dungeon.[3]

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[1] Because the ceremonies for his brother were as yet incomplete.

[2] *29th Âvani, Bhava.*

[3] These men were imprisoned in the hope of wringing out of them the truth regarding the tangled accounts of the Carnatic revenues.

Wednesday, September 11.[1]—I did not go out to-day.

I hear that three Europe ships have reached Fort St. David with about 1,000 soldiers, cannon, muskets, powder, shot, &c., in abundance. The chief man who came by the ships, learning that the fugitive M. Aubert was a Frenchman, ordered him to be imprisoned. Nallatambi Arunâchalam, Tâni Chetti, Muttayya Chetti, Alagappa Chetti, Irisappa Chetti, Muttu, Nallatambi Arunâchalam and my younger brother are going to the Governor to complain that he owes them money jointly.

To-day Pâpayya Pillai, &c., were allowed to take their food as yesterday and again imprisoned.

Thursday, September 12.[2]—M. Godeheu, the new Governor, and M. Barthélemy the Second, sent Vinâyaka Pillai to fetch me and Appâvu, to condole with me on the death of my younger brother. We went accordingly. The Governor condoled with me, saying, 'Don't remain at home overcome by sorrow for your younger brother's death; but take courage and attend diligently to the Company's business. The Company trust you greatly. Therefore conduct yourself so as to satisfy them.' Having spoken thus, he gave Appâvu

[1] *30th Âvani, Bhava.*

[2] *31st Âvani, Bhava.*

a dress of honour, and ordered a salute to be fired. He also gave me presents and sent me home with music, dancers and players. So I returned home in state, where I dismissed them with rosewater and *pân supârî*.

To-day the old Governor also sent for me and Appâvu and expressed great sorrow at the death of my younger brother. I replied that he had been fated not to eat the Governor's food longer. He answered, 'His health has been bad for these nine years, and I know you did your utmost for him. But God willed otherwise, so of what use is lamentation?'

Having thus consoled me, he asked if any one had come to buy elephants. I replied I had written for sowcars to come. He continued, 'If they will come and buy, well and good; but if not, I am not going to trust the elephants to anyone. I will have them shot.' I said that sowcars would come, and took leave, promising to return in two or three days with the accounts of our transactions.

Pâpayya Pillai was not allowed to eat at home, as he did yesterday and the day before.

At eleven o'clock the new Governor sent for me as a letter had come from Nandi Râjâ. I interpreted its contents, and, as it was long, he asked me to get it written out in French.

He then gave me the letter sent through M. Maissin by Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Trichinopoly and asked me to interpret it. It was as follows :—' I have learnt everything from your boastful letter. You ask me to release your soldiers that have been captured. I am surprised that you should have written so improperly. Fifty or sixty years ago, you petitioned the Nawâb here to be permitted to build a factory at one of the sea-ports and to carry on trade. The Nawâb agreed in order that the Sarkâr might benefit by your trade. So for many years you carried on trade. Then M. Dupleix, the late Governor, seized the country belonging to the Pâdshâh and destroyed it. How can you trouble the Pâdshâh's country ? You must confine yourselves to trade and not exceed those limits.'

When I reported the contents of this boastful letter, he observed that it must have been written by the advice of the English ; and asked me to get it translated into French by M. Delarche. I gave it accordingly to Madanânda Pandit, and sent him to M. Delarche to get a French translation. I then went to my office.

This afternoon the Governor sent for me. Madanânda Pandit came with M. Delarche's French translation of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's letter. When the Governor had read it, he

said angrily, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân was so puffed up with pride that he knew not what he was writing. I will send him a letter that will bring him back to his senses.'—'It should be so,' I said.

He then asked me to interpret Nandi Râjâ's and Perumukkal Miyân Sâhib's letters. Nandi Râjâ's letter was as follows :—'M. Maissin, the commander, who was with our army at Rettaimalai, Allûr and those parts, has marched to Srîrangam, sending his cannon and other munitions of war by boat. I sent word asking why he should go to Srîrangam with his army, leaving my army here. He replied that he only wished to carry away the surplus ammunition and would leave the rest with the army here. When crossing the Cauvery, one of the boats sank. I have spent over two crores in order to capture Trichinopoly. So why should I write falsely?' Four pages were written about this matter; but I only reported briefly the important points. The Governor then ordered the letter to be translated, as it was very long, adding, 'Morâri Râo's and Nandi Râjâ's letters must be sent to M. Maissin; so get them put into French.'

Perumukkal Miyân Sâhib's letter was as follows :—'Though I have been a friend of the French for the last fifty years, yet my jaghirs have been seized and I have been put to great

trouble. But now that you are pleased to order my jaghir to be restored, it is again in my possession.' When I reported the contents of this letter, with the usual compliments, the Governor was delighted.

Then Salem Savarimuttu came with an order for 1,800 pagodas on account of the Company's cloth. When the Governor had signed the order, I gave it to Savarimuttu's son-in-law; and taking leave went to M. Le Beaume to desire him to translate the letters. But he replied that it was late and that it might be done to-morrow. So I went to my office.

When the Governor sent for me at eleven o'clock, M. Boyelleau came to me and said, 'I told the Governor that according to custom, presents should be given to your younger brother's son and salutes fired on account of his father's death. He agreed and told me that he had heard, both in Europe and from Europeans on his arrival here, that you are a great man, clever and capable enough to manage the Company's affairs with success and reputation for whomsoever employed you; and on seeing you he formed the same opinion, and entrusted to your management the affairs of the Tamils and Muhammadans, the outside country and the town itself. But he thinks you are afraid of M. Dupleix and unwilling

to take part in business. If you would only inquire into matters and inform him, he would give you this and that; but as you do not do so, and he has but newly taken charge of the Government, he is like a man lost in a great forest, not knowing which way to turn. He desired me to tell you all this.'—'Indeed,' I replied, 'when he imprisoned Pâpayya Pillai, he asked me to attend to affairs both within and without and to appoint men to examine his accounts and search all persons passing through the gates. So I prepared to attend duly to all matters, and in all ways to examine the accounts. But then he entrusted some matters to M. Delarche, some to the Second, and others to you, to M. Dusaussaye and writer Ranga Pillai and he listened to everything people said to him. M. Delarche concealed some things and reported others; and at their desire procured the restoration of the houses of Pâpayya Pillai's agents. When I began to report one or two matters to the Governor, he told me he would manage through me from September onwards, and till then not to visit him unless I was sent for. So of course I have been doing nothing.' To this M. Boyelleau replied, 'The Governor is new, and believes whatever he is told, and gives orders accordingly. Why do you not go and tell him what should be done

and what avoided? He should settle matters affecting Europeans and you the affairs of the Tamils. Why do you not attend to the Company's business as diligently as you did until Nâsîr Jang's death, working day and night and securing glory as dazzling as the sun?' I replied, 'The Governor is new. I do not know his nature, nor he mine. He has ordered me to visit him only when sent for; and he has given the management of affairs to others. If now I were to go and tell him something, he might ask in anger what concern it was of mine; and tell me to keep quiet. You know well, I do not wish to incur his anger. How then can you advise me thus? Affairs will prosper only if they are managed as I have advised; and if they are entrusted to me after they have been ruined by others, nothing but blame can fall upon me.' When I thus explained matters to him, M. Boyelleau said, 'That is true. I will tell the Governor to listen to no one but you, and manage all business by you; and he shall send for you and tell you everything.' I replied that I would not attend to any business until he had spoken to the Governor and the latter had sent for me and told me to attend to the affairs of the Tamils, the town and country business and that of the Muhammadans. M. Boyelleau assented.

Friday, September 13.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he gave me Morâri Râo's letter to interpret. It says, 'Because the French are valiant, resolute and glorious, who have prospered in many former matters, and by their conquests spread their fame even to the ears of the Pâdshâh at Delhi, therefore I harkened to the words of that great man, M. Dupleix, consented to his terms, and was ever ready to obey his wishes. After thus joining you in war, I lost many horses and men, including my younger brother, but I have never received the promised pay for eight or nine months, and M. Dupleix made false charges against me, although he owed me 13 lakhs of rupees for pay, etc. I will never give up what is due, but will collect it someway or other. As you are a great man newly come from Europe to inquire exactly into all things, I appeal to you to settle this affair. As I place all reliance on you, I am sending to my vakîls all the deeds executed by M. Dupleix. Be pleased to make full inquiries about them, procure payment of what is due to me, and send a reply.'

When I interpreted it thus, he told me to get it translated into French by M. Le Beaume. I and Madanânda Pandit therefore visited M. Le Beaume.

[1] 1st Purattâsi, Bhava.

Afterwards the old Governor sent for me and Razâ Sâhib (Mîr Ghulâm Husain's sister's son) who brought a notary's copy of the bond for the lakh of rupees lent by Mîr Ghulâm Husain. When we arrived, the old Governor asked if he had brought Mîr Ghulâm Husain's bond. He replied that he had brought a notary's copy. Thereon the old Governor continued, 'Oh, you do not trust me then, and have brought a copy of the bond! I could not be trusted so far!' Thus he spoke very angrily and told him to go, refusing to pay. When he had gone, he said mockingly that his face was like a monkey's or a devil's, and added, 'I hear that Arunâchala Pillai has got a lease of the Chidambaram and Tiruviti Panchmahals, and the Vriddhachalam and Gôpurâpuram countries, for three years, at 5 lakhs for the first year, and 7½ for the second and the third, with 10 *per cent.* deduction for the cost of *sibbandi.* As everyone wants to secure for himself what he can get in these troublous times, who indeed can be trusted? No leases should be granted at present; and you should say who is and who is not a man of property, for you know everything.' I replied, 'Have I any say in those matters? M. Delarche and writer Ranga Pillai settle it.'—'Then,' he replied, 'why are you named manager of Tamil and Muhammadan and

country matters? Even if you are not sent for and consulted, should you not say what is right and what wrong?' I replied, 'I can only do that if I am sent for; if I were to say anything without being asked, I might be told that it was not my business and that I could say nothing. What could I answer?' He then angrily dismissed me. But as I was beginning to go, he called me back to ask where Morâri Râo was. I said I had heard he was at Vâlikondâpuram. He then asked why I had not brought my accounts and why I was interfering in country affairs. He threatened me with all sorts of things if I did not produce the accounts. I replied that the accounts were being written, and that I would bring them.

So I took leave and went to M. Le Beaume to get the French translation of Morâri Râo's letter; but Madanânda Pandit was fetched away to read Arunâchala Pillai's parwâna of confirmation. Afterwards he was given presents and dismissed; so that it was half-past twelve before Madanânda Pandit came back and the letter was finished. When all was finished, I came home.

Saturday, September 14.[1]—I paid my respects to the Governor this morning and gave him

[1] *2nd Purattâsi, Bhava.*

the French translations of Morâri Râo's, the Turaiyûr Reddi's and the [killedar] of Kalavai's letters. He read them, and then taking me aside, asked why his name had not been written in Salabat Jang's letter. I replied, 'It is not necessary in Persian letters. Only the name[1] is written, and a seal bearing your name is affixed. They do the same whenever they write. But as at first no seal had been cut with your name, the small seal with your coat of arms[2] was affixed, and your name was written so that they might know from whom it came.' He then asked me why I had sent my letter to Salabat Jang in the same bag as his. I replied, 'It would not be seemly for you yourself to write of your greatness and glory. Therefore I wrote at length about your valour, glory and character, and explained what respect should be shown to you. This is customary; otherwise I should not have done so.'—'But,' he objected, 'why has not M. Bussy written all this?'—'That,' I replied, 'is because M. Bussy has been all powerful with Salabat Jang. But when my letter is received, I shall be openly informed of what they mean to do and I shall inform you. Hitherto he[3] has been managing all affairs without interference, but he now fears some

[1] *i.e.* of the addressee. [2] Lit. 'your weapons.' [3] *i.e.* M. Bussy.

hindrance may arise, if I should write [to Salabat Jang], whereas he thinks he can continue doing as he pleases if you prevent me from writing. Since Nâsîr Jang's death, for the last three or three years and a half, I have not written to Salabat Jang, etc., nor he to me; for M. Dupleix and Madame used to write or sometimes Madame Dupleix alone. So I have had no correspondence with them. But formerly my letters were sent with theirs, and the same was done with Kanakarâya Mudali's.'—'Is that true?' he asked. 'Why should I tell you lies?' I replied. 'You may ask M. Boyelleau, M. Delarche or any one else who used to be a councillor, or the Brâhman who has always written the Persian letters.'—'This is why I have been displeased with you for the last week,' he observed.

He then continued, 'I became Governor 44 days ago, but, although you have been the chief of the Tamils and Muhammadans and in charge of country matters, you have never told me plainly how affairs should be managed.' I replied, 'I can only explain if you send for me and ask me. I told you about one or two matters, soon after your arrival, but you did not listen to me. So I have been keeping quiet.' He said, 'First you have caused the removal of M. Dupleix and now the imprisonment of Pâpayya Pillai. Why

should you do nothing and never explain affairs?' I replied, 'You did not consult me about imprisoning Pâpayya Pillai; but told me of it the evening afterwards, and asked me to make enquiry. Then I ascertained the names of the farmers, and used every effort to get evidence and proof about his accounts. I arranged to keep guards on the houses of Pâpayya Pillai's gumastahs, and had them sealed up. In consequence of the fear that this caused, one or two paid up what they owed Pâpayya Pillai. I do not know what M. Dupleix and writer Ranga Pillai may have told you, but then they sent people to remove the seals from the houses of Pâpayya Pillai's gumastahs and did what seemed good to them. This upset matters, and I did nothing more; for if I had, I should have been blamed. Had you but consulted me touching Pâpayya Pillai's imprisonment, I would have done what was needed to unravel his affairs. But that was not done, either first or last. Otherwise I would have arranged to clear up the whole matter; but what was done was like tying up air in a bag. Like air, the matter has slipped through our fingers, and success will be very difficult.'—'Let bygones be bygones,' the Governor replied. 'Henceforward I will manage European affairs, and you shall be chief of the Tamils and Muhammadans,

and manage the country and town affairs. No one else shall have any hand in them. I promise it shall be so.'

He then said, 'I hear that outside people used to send presents to M. Dupleix; why have they not done so to me?' I replied, 'I have sent word to Nandi Râjâ, Morâri Râo, the killedars and other great people who are friendly to us, about presents; I have already delivered you the presents received from some; and others will be received. Morâri Râo has delayed his presents because his affair has not yet been settled. I have now sent word to his vakîls to hasten them, and they have written. The presents will come shortly. As for Nandi Râjâ's presents, as you are a great man newly come from Europe, and he also is a great man, I told his vakîl Venkatanâranappa Ayyan to obtain rich and honourable presents, such as elephants, horses, laced dresses of honour, jewels, etc. He accordingly wrote to Nandi Râjâ; and as the latter had no suitable things by him, he has written for rich jewels to the Râjâ and the chief dalavâi at Seringapatam. A letter has also been sent from here to Seringapatam. They will be packed and sent on as soon as they are received.' I added, 'As for Salabat Jang's presents, M. Bussy should tell him to despatch suitable ones with due respect and

without delay.' The Governor observed, 'You must send your men to get Salabat Jang's camp news, without M. Bussy's knowing it, and also to Masulipatam, to Bhâji Râo, to Nandi Râjâ's camp at Trichinopoly and to Morâri Râo's camp. Moreover letters must be written to the Pâdshâh, his vizier, and Bhâji Râo.' I replied, 'It is not usual to write to the Pâdshâh, but to Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân's son, who is the vizier of Alamgîr Pâdshâh.'—'In that case,' he replied, 'write letters to Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân's son and Bhâji Râo. Henceforward I will attend to the European matters and you shall manage the affairs of the town, and the country and Muhammadan business as you please. I will see that none except our two selves manage matters.'—'If you persist in this,' I said, 'you shall see how well and diligently I will conduct your affairs to a successful end, just as you have heard how I laboured for the Company's glory till the death of Nâsîr Jang; and how affairs went wrong when they were entrusted to others.' He answered joyfully that he would entrust everything to me. I then took leave in order to visit M. Le Beaume and get Nandi Râjâ's letter translated into French, after which I went to my office at eleven o'clock.

As the Governor had ordered the French answer to Muhammad 'Alî Khân's letter to

be written out in Persian by M. Delarche, Madanânda Pandit visited the latter at the *comptoir* in the Fort. His Persian translation was as follows :—'You complain in your letter that I who derive my authority from you, have not addressed you by your proper titles. You also say that 50 or 60 years ago the French sought leave from former Nawâbs to hoist their flag in one of the sea-ports and carry on trade, which was permitted in the hope that the Sarkâr's revenues would thus be increased ; but that besides carrying on trade, they have seized and destroyed the Pâdshâh's countries. I am astonished that you should have written thus and know not who could have advised you so improperly. Who knows your titles? We and the English in our country only mention you as Muhammad 'Alî Khân without the addition of any title. My King has invested me with all power and appointed me master of the ports in India, to dismiss Governors and Generals and appoint others in their place, for which he has given me a sufficient force of ships and men. In Europe I am of high rank. The whole world knows that your Pâdshâh, Muhammad Shâh Pâdshâh, gave us a mansab jaghir, title, naubat and other marks of honour. But who knows your titles or whether you have not invented them? Moreover when our enemies, the

English, attacked our town, you joined them and did all you could against us, until you found the task too great for you. Even if there had been but a single man in the French factories, he would have maintained himself. And now you ask me to recall my troops. I will only do that when you have made peace. I am ready for either war or peace, as you may choose.' When he had read this letter, he told me to put it in a cover and despatch it to-morrow.

I was sent for at half-past four this evening ; so I went with Madanânda Pandit. The chobdars at the gate said that they had been ordered by the Governor to admit none into the house with their shoes or slippers on ; but I and Madanânda Pandit kept ours on. The Governor was with his younger brother. He showed us a letter from Husain the mahout ; but then turning to Madanânda Pandit asked angrily how he had dared to come in with his shoes on in spite of the chobdar's orders. He told him to go out and come back without them. Madanânda Pandit replied evasively, 'I always used to come in with my slippers on.' But the Governor's anger was only increased. He exclaimed, 'No one but Rangappan may come in with his slippers on. Go out, and take off your slippers. Or else look out.' After this threat, Madanânda Pandit went out

and returned without his slippers. He then read Husain the mahout's letter, which was as follows :—'Pâpayya Pillai has given me a bond for 30,000 pagodas—for 20,000 pagodas which he owes me and 5,000 pagodas which he owes Hasan-ud-dîn Khân for an elephant. He tried to recover the bond by stealth, wherefore I came away. But I hear that you have come from Europe to enquire and do justice. Be pleased to order Pâpayya Pillai to pay me my money. I will visit you when you desire.'

As he was still angry with Madanânda Pandit, he said, 'Well, he had better ask Salabat Jang for his money.'

He then read Nandi Râjâ's letter which was translated this morning as follows :—'Although I wrote that, for the last year M. Maissin has behaved without spirit, while M. Mainville has fought well and gained success, yet the facts which I wrote were not credited, and I was told in answer that M. Maissin had won five or six battles in the country. I am assured that you will render me all the necessary help to secure victory. I have spent two crores of money on this business, and myself am a great man. Should I speak falsehoods ? I will send away all the royal troops, and visit you at Pondichery with my own 500 brave horse.'

He was very angry at this and ordered me to bring Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, Nandi Râjâ's vakîl, to-morrow. I took leave and went to my office.

I was sent for at nine o'clock to-night and told that a letter must be written to-morrow morning to Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân's son, the vizier of Alamgîr, the new Pâdshâh at Delhi. I took leave, returned to my office and came home at ten.

The Governor said this morning that 20 passes must be made out in Persian, Marathi, Telugu, and Tamil, ordering our various posts to allow the English to pass freely with their goods and clothes of all sorts, palankins, horses and money, etc. I think he means by this to obtain as many passes from the English so that all trade may go freely.[1]

[*Sunday*], *September 15*.[2]—After returning from church, the new Governor summoned all the councillors to a Council; but I do not know what was discussed. After the council had broken up, and when the councillors were departing, a peon said that the Governor wanted me. I found the Governor and his younger brother talking in his room. He said, 'I told you last night to prepare 20

[1] This was stipulated by article 8 of the Truce. *Military Consultations*, 1754, page 226.

[2] *3rd Purattâsi, Bhava.*

passes written in Persian with a Telugu translation below, to be sent to Mr. Saunders at Madras, to allow cloth, goods, palankins, horses and people to go free. Are they ready?' I said that they only needed his seal. He opened his box and gave me the seal; and I gave him the 20 passes duly sealed. He then asked in what languages the passes were written, and whether they should be written out in French as well. I replied, '18 are in Persian with Telugu below, and the other two in Persian with Marathi. If each is translated into French and signed, the Tamils, Muhammadans, etc., will understand the Persian, Marathi or Telugu, and will see your name upon the seal; and the Europeans will read the French with your signature.' Thereon he sent for his own European writer and signed the French translation on each pass. He then wrote a letter to Mr. Saunders, the Governor of Madras, put it in a cover with 20 passes and despatched it at once by a chobdar to Madras.

He then asked why Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, the Mysore vakîl, had been constantly visiting M. Dupleix, the former Governor. I explained that M. Dupleix had sent for him about business every three or four days, but not for the last ten days. I added that Morâri Râo's vakîls often visited him about their business, and the merchants of the town about

money. 'Why did you not tell me about this?' he asked. I replied, 'I should have done so had you asked me. As the Councillors and other Europeans come and go with your permission, I thought that this too was with your leave.'—'Never mind about my orders,' he said; 'watch who visits him and tell me. I depend upon you entirely in all affairs.'—'I will do so faithfully,' I replied. 'For these 40 years my father served the Company in its trade and I am now courtier. You may have heard how we have striven for the Company's welfare, and you shall be satisfied with my conduct. Never should I think of deceiving you about anything. But you must pardon me if I err by ignorance.'—'Well,' he said, 'enquire about the town affairs, the Company's merchants, the petty merchants and others, and inform me.' I promised, went to my office, and thence came home.

At three o'clock this afternoon the Governor sent for me, and, giving me a letter from Nandi Râjâ, told me to interpret it. It is as follows:—'You may know that Mahfuz Khân is marching from Udaiyârpâlaiyam to Trichinopoly with 1,500 foot, 1,000 horse and 300 Europeans, and that Muhammad 'Alî Khân means to halt near Serukkuvârpâlaiyam, Uttamasêri and those parts. The poligars of Ariyalûr, Turaiyûr and Udaiyârpâlaiyam are

attempting to cut off provisions from our armies at Ûtatûr, Lalgudi and those parts. This will put our army to great straits ; therefore order M. Maissin to attack the enemy wherever they may appear.' When I reported this, he told me to get the letter translated into French. I took leave and went to my office. As it was late, I decided to get it translated by M. Le Beaume to-morrow.

Just then M. Barthélemy, the Second, sent for me and said, 'We must send 10,000 pagodas to M. Maissin for the Trichinopoly troops. How did you send 3,000 pagodas formerly ?' I replied that I had put them 500 in a bag, tied a bag round the waist of each golla, and despatched them with peons to guard them. 'Do the same now,' he said. I answered that this used to be the Arumpâtai's business and asked that he should be ordered to see to it. Vinâyaka Pillai was therefore sent for and given 10,000 pagodas to be despatched to M. Maissin at Trichinopoly. I saw the money despatched.

[The Governor] then was watching a game of chess and desired my presence. I was with him about a quarter of an hour, took leave, went to the office at half-past nine ; and came home at ten o'clock.

Friday, September 20.[1]—At nine o'clock this morning, the new Governor sent for me and gave me letters to Nandi Râjâ and Morâri Râo to be translated from French into Marathi and Telugu. Then Morâri Râo's vakîl Krishnamâchâri came and salaamed. The Governor told him that he would write to Morâri Râo, and directed him to write as follows :—'You must settle all things with M. Dupleix as I have nothing to do with it. M. Dupleix denies that he owes you anything. But as you write that 13 lakhs of rupees are due to you, you must settle this with the old Governor. Or as Nandi Râjâ owes 20 lakhs, your dues may be set against this amount, and you may secure what is owing to you, and pay the rest to me.' The Governor added that Morâri Râo must be told not to abandon the French. Krishnamâchâri replied, 'My master is halting at Magalupêttai, about five miles of Tyâgadrug. I will leave two persons here as sureties and visit him, explain affairs here, and return in five or six days after learning his intentions.'—'A letter will do as well,' the Governor replied, 'and no one need go.' Although Krishnamâchâri urged his request, the Governor only repeated his answer. So we took leave. I went to M. Le Beaume with Madanânda Pandit and had

[1] *8th Purattâsi, Bhava.*

the letters to Morâri Râo and the Râjâ written in Marathi and Telugu.

He sent for me at noon and, giving me a draft of a French letter to the Râjâ of Pegu, asked me to have a letter written to him. I took it away to Madanânda Pandit to get it written in Persian, in which letters to that Râjâ are usually written, and told him to take it to M. Delarche.

As I was going home for food, he said to me, 'Go to Mirzâ 'Abd-ul-nabî Bêg and tell him that he must pick out 30 of the hundred horses we have in pay; that 30 shall be fed at the Company's expense and the men placed on the strength of the army; if any of the horses die, he shall be paid for them. Tell him they will only be wanted for a couple of months, so he must do this. Examine the horses and explain the matter to him.' But when I spoke to him in the street, in the Governor's own presence, he refused, and the Governor went in angrily.

I then took to the Governor the two presents sent to him and his younger brother by the killedar of old Gingee and read the letter of compliment. He was pleased and told me to reply briefly, that he should receive a jaghir. I said I would do so, and came home.

Mirzâ 'Abd-ul-nabî Bêg came to me and said that the Governor had sent for him again and

told him that, unless he gave the horses, he must join the army with the whole of his troop. He then took leave.

I went to the Beach this afternoon and stayed with M. Le Beaume till half-past eight preparing the letters for Nandi Râjâ, Morâri Râo and the Râjâ of Pegu. I gave them to the new Governor after supper at half-past ten, had them sealed, put Nandi Râjâ's and the Râjâ of Pegu's letters in lace bags and tied them up. Morâri Râo's letter was merely sealed. The Pegu Râjâ's letter was given to M. Bruno who put it along with the letters to be sent by the ships, and sealed it up. Nandi Râjâ's and Morâri Râo's letters were put with M. Maissin's letter and sealed up together. He then dismissed me and I reached home at eleven o'clock.

Saturday, September 21.[1]—I went to the Governor's and paid my respects to him as he was going to church for the feast. He asked if there was any news. I said I had heard that Morâri Râo was camping at Manalûrpêttai near Tiruvannâmalai, and that the English had sent some men to Tiruvêndipuram. He then went on to church, and I went to my office.

[1] *9th Purattâsi, Bhava.*

Monday, September 23.[1]—To-day I went to Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry at six o'clock to have the sixteenth day ceremony duly performed by Appâvu for my younger brother, Tiruvêngadam. When I and the others had retied our turbans,[2] I left the choultry at seven o'clock with the Âchâriyâr in a palankin, Appâvu, Annâswâmi, Ayyâswâmi[3] and others preceding him in a palankin, and accompanied by led-horses, music and dancing, actors, and men bearing lances, roundels and other signs of honour. We reached home at eight o'clock. I distributed *pân supârî* to all and dismissed them. When they had gone home, I took food with my relations, and went to sleep at eleven o'clock.

I hear that the *mahânâttârs* presented a petition to the new Governor, requesting permission to rebuild the Vêdapuri Îswaran temple, which M. Dupleix unjustly ordered to be destroyed.[4]

Wednesday, September 25.[5]—At ten o'clock the new Governor sent for me and told me to interpret the Tanjore Râjâ's letter. It says :—' I

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[1] *11th Purattâsi, Bhava.*
[2] In sign of the ceremonies having been completed.
[3] Annâswâmi and Ayyâswâmi were Ranga Pillai's own sons.
[4] In 1748. See Vol. V, p. 295, *supra.*
[5] *13th Purattâsi, Bhava.*

understand the contents of your letter. You have not kept the terms of the treaty made when I gave you Kârikâl, for when Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân attacked our fort, your soldiers helped him with cannon, and greatly damaged the fort and our country. This is well-known; and you too know it, for you are wise, and hold the Government. If you behave so as to render the country happy, you will win glory and our friendship will increase. Return the agreement which was given you when you seized the country, releasing you from the payment of tribute. Desist from your recent conduct, and behave as of old, so that there may be peace and prosperity in the land. Thus you will become glorious.' When I reported this, he told me to get it translated into French. I agreed.

The Governor and his younger brother received two dresses of honour sent by the killedar of old Gingee. I gave his vakîl, Yasanta Râo, *pân supârî* and rosewater and read his letter of congratulations. I then took leave and came home.

I went to M. Le Beaume this evening, to get a letter written to the Râjâ of Tanjore, and a list which I had been ordered to make, of the 9 jewels (a pearl necklace, a cross-hilted dagger, a goblet, breast ornaments, tobacco-pipes set with rubies and diamonds, and

valued in all at 20 lakhs of rupees) which Nandi Râjâ had wished to pledge for 50,000 rupees last July when he needed money but which had been returned 11 days later.[1] M. Le Beaume said that he would correct and return it to-morrow. I took leave and went to my office at half-past seven. On the way I heard that M. Godeheu, the new Governor, had gone to M. Barthélemy's to supper. So I came home.

Thursday, September 26.[2]—I hear that Morâri Râo is halting at Sankaripuram, which he has captured, busily preparing to go home and destroying everything he cannot take away.

Saturday, September 28.[3]—I visited M. Dupleix, the old Governor, who had sent for me this morning to the Fort. I found there Mîr Ghulâm Husain's sister's sons [Mirzâ 'Alî Sâhib and Mîr 'Abd-ul-lah Sâhib[4]] and others. The old Governor was taking his coffee downstairs. I went and paid my respects. He rose and approached me, and, calling Mîr Ghulâm Husain's nephews, gave me a decree signed by M. Bourquenoud, for a lakh of rupees, on which 94,000 had already

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[1] See Vol. VIII, p. 387, *supra*.
[2] *14th Purattâsi, Bhava.*
[3] *16th Purattâsi, Bhava.*
[4] The names are conjectural.

been paid. The interest up to September 15 was upwards of 30,000 rupees, so that the balance due was 36,493 rupees, 2 fanams and 27 cash. He told me to read it. When I had done so, he said, 'Tell him that I will pay 64,000 rupees as a favour, but I am not bound to pay even that. Mîr Ghulâm Husain died leaving neither son nor wife, so that his property belonged to the Sarkâr. What claim can the nephews have on it? It was given to me when Chandâ Sâhib was on the point of seizing all his property.' He told me all about this, and added, 'Mîr A'azam wants half as his wife is a daughter of another sister of Mîr Ghulâm Husain.' He told me to tell them this. When I did so, they said that the 64,000 rupees had been borrowed before Chandâ Sâhib's coming. On this he replied that he would pay when they produced their bond. They objected that he ought to pay the money before receiving the bond. 'No, no,' he said, and, giving Mîr A'azam M. Bourquenoud's decree, dismissed them. As they were going, he took back the paper, and gave it to me, saying, 'Don't pay them unless they produce the original bond. I have included the 64,000 rupees I borrowed in the list of my debts, and I will pay it when I receive the 29 odd lakhs of rupees owing to me by the

Company.' The others did not agree to this, but he told them to go away.[1]

He then gave me Imâm Sâhib's account and told me to read it to his man when he came.[2] Then M. Guillard, M. Bourquenoud, M. du Bausset, and other gentlemen came with whom he went upstairs. I took leave and went to my office.

Mu'tabar Khân (Husain Sâhib's son), killedar of Vâlikondâpuram and Ranjangudi, sent M. Godeheu, his younger brother, M. Delarche and me a dress of honour each. M. Delarche presented the Governor's and his younger brother's at ten o'clock to-day, when a salute of 5 guns was fired. Replies were also written and despatched.

Sunday, September 29.[3]—I went to the new Governor at half-past seven this morning and waited for him. When he was going to church at nine o'clock, I paid my respects. He went to the church and I to my office.

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[1] This passage seems to refer to two separate transactions Mîr Ghulâm Husain had lent the Company a lakh in 1745, and in 1750 the diarist mentions a sum of 64,000 rupees lent by him. Most of the first loan appears to have been paid off leaving a balance still due of 6,000 *plus* 30,000 interest. That Dupleix refused to have anything to do with, I suppose on the ground that it had been lent to the Company. The second sum he seems to have been more or less willing to discharge, by deputy if not in person.

[2] Several loans had been made by him to the Company; his children were still making claims against the French when they resettled Pondichery in 1765.

[3] *17th Purattâsi, Bhava.*

When he returned, he sent for me and for the Company's merchants and said, 'Mr. Saunders, the Governor of Madras, has sent 20 passes, so that our trade may not be hindered, saying that he would attack any one who did so.' So saying, he gave ten passports to the merchants and told them to procure goods quickly. They received them and took leave, saying that they would send for goods to Arni, Kunnattûr, Saidapet, Salem, Udaiyârpâlaiyam, Chidambaram, Shiyâli and other places. He replied that no goods had yet been provided for the ship sailing this month. They replied that they had only received an advance a month ago, that the pagodas could have only just reached distant places by now, and that the cloth had yet to be made. 'Get it quickly,' he said, and dismissed them. They then went away. It remains to be seen what effect will be produced by the 20 passes that have been sent by the English in return for ours. The passports are written in Persian above, with the Persian seal close to one side, and in Telugu underneath. It is written in English on the back, and signed by Thomas Saunders underneath. The Persian seal has the inscription, 'Thomas Saunders, Governor of the port of Chennapatnam.' I write this so that all may know.

Monday, September 30.[1]—M. Godeheu told me to-day that the English and French had agreed to exchange 20 passes so that trade should not be hindered, that they had arranged a truce for 3 months, each nation keeping possession of the countries and forts which it held, and that, if peace had not been made within this time, they would begin fighting again. So I have written this news and published it in the several villages and among the merchants according to his orders.

I hear from Madras that Mr. Morse has arranged the pay for the seamen on the men-of-war and for the soldiers, majors, commanders and others who came this year from Europe, on condition of his receiving 5 *per cent.* He has taken ship for Fort St. David.[2] Muhammad 'Alî Khân has sent to Mr. Saunders a naubat, 12 horses, an elephant, a dress of honour and other insignia, which are being kept at the writer's garden.[3]

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[1] *18th Purattâsi, Bhava.*

[2] He acted as agent for the pay, etc., of the squadron

[3] Cf. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II, p. 432. This was in imitation of the French Governor who had enjoyed the privilege since 1742.

OCTOBER 1754.

Tuesday, October 1.[1]—At nine o'clock this morning I went to M. Godeheu, the new Governor, to get the Tanjore Râjâ's letter sealed, and obtain a lace bag. I put the letter into it and delivered it to the Governor.

When news came that Mîr Sâhib[2] of Eravâsanallûr fort had defeated the poligar of Venkatammâlpêttai, who is called 'the sledge-hammer,' and taken two horses from him, he was ordered to send them in here. They arrived last night. When M. Godeheu was told this morning that they had not been placed in his stables, he ordered them to be delivered to the Topass horse-keeper. I did so. When I was leaving for my office, M. Godeheu again sent for me and gave me the Tanjore Râjâ's and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's letters to be sent to Tanjore and Trichinopoly respectively. I therefore called Nâgayyan who had come from Kondiyâmpêttai in the Trichinopoly

[1] *19th Purattâsi, Bhava.*

[2] He had been a captain of French sepoys, and had been entrusted with the command of Eravâsanallûr by Dupleix. He is mentioned under the names of Mîr Sâhib, Mîr 'Alam-ud-dîn Husain, and Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân ; he must not however be identified with Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân, who was at this time in service with Bâlâji Râo. Shortly after this time, Mîr Sâhib, like Yûsuf Khân, rebelled against his employers and was slain.

country, and sent him with two harkaras and my letters, instructing them to deliver the Tanjore Râjâ's and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's letters, and return with the replies. They took leave saying that they would go as soon as they had eaten.

At three o'clock, I was sent for and told to send the Tanjore Râjâ's letter but return that for Muhammad 'Alî Khân. As the Brâhman harkaras were about to start, I sent for them and told them to give me back Muhammad 'Alî Khân's letter and set out for Tanjore with the Râjâ's letter. I then took leave and went to my office.

Monday, October 7.[1]—The new Governor sent for me at ten o'clock and told me to read him Nandi Râjâ's letter. I interpreted it as follows :—'M. Maissin, the commandant, has come and told me that you have recalled his troops and that he must go. He is transporting his stores over the Coleroon. I am undone if you do this, and shall incur the displeasure of the Government. I thought the French were strong, brave, and careful of their promises ; so I spent large sums and came here at great cost. I will give suitable hostages for the 15 lakhs of rupees owing to you together with the cost of *sibbandis* if you will capture

[1] *25th Purattâsi, Bhava.*

the Trichinopoly fort and give it to me; or else I will pay what is due to you out of the 60 lakhs of rupees which the enemy offered to pay when Thâna Singh went to him, and so redeem my promises. Therefore order your army to stay here for another 15 days instead of marching at once. This is my request. You have succeeded the Governor who formerly managed the Company's affairs, and I am confident you will do as I desire. Even the Pâdshâh has not so great an army as yours; and if only you would attack the enemy, Trichinopoly would be taken. But if you recall your troops against my wishes, I shall be ruined and unable to pay you.'

When I reported the contents, he told me to reply, as follows:—'If you will pay my troops from the time of their joining you, and pay them regularly every month in future, I will allow them to remain; else I must recall them. We and the English have agreed on a truce for three months, and thereafter war will be renewed or peace be made. You may then fight. If you get the 60 lakhs of rupees which were offered you, what cannot be done with the help of so much money?' I wrote thus accordingly.

At half-past three the Mysore dalavâi Dêvarâja Udaiyâr's and Nandi Râjâ's presents for the Governor and his younger brother

which had been kept in Ella Pillai's Choultry, were brought in two of the Company's palankins, according to the Governor's orders, by his secretary M. [ ] (I do not know his name) and Venkatanâranappayyan (the Mysore vakîl) accompanied by flags, music, dancing and stage-people. The procession passed down my street, and the presents were taken to the Governor's house by the southern gate. A salute of 11 guns was fired. He asked if such salutes were fired when the former Governor received presents. I said, 'Yes.' So he ordered the same to be done. Dêvarâja Udaiyâr and Nandi Râjâ gave the Governor and his younger brother two dresses of honour each, four in all, richly flowered with gold, together with the following jewels :—

		Pagodas.
A *turra* valued at	...	240
A *sarpêch* valued at	...	75
A pendant valued at	...	175
Another pendant valued at		100
	Altogether	600 [1]

Also an elephant with one tusk ; two horses for the Governor ; and a horse for his younger brother.

[1] *Sic.*

These presents were sent under the escort of 100 horse and 300 military belonging to Nandi Râjâ and Dammâji Pandit, the vakîl. The Governor ordered them to be supplied with uncooked victuals.

Wednesday, October 9.[1]—Venkatâchala Nâyakkan, Vîrâ Nâyakkan's younger brother, came to me at half-past eight, and told me the new Governor had forbidden any to go abroad with torches after gun-fire at nine o'clock. Gôpâlaswâmi has also written about it.

As the new Governor asked me for 6,000 pagodas which he wants to borrow, I sent to my house for it and gave it to him. He gave me a bond for the amount with interest at 8 *per cent*; I put it in my box.

Thursday, October 10.[2]—The Governor told me this morning to interpret Nandi Râjâ's letter. It is as follows :—'M. Maissin, the commander, has sent a small detachment across the Coleroon with all his stores, saying that you have recalled his troops. I begged him to remain, saying that otherwise I could not remain here with my family, as none could tell what might happen if the enemy attacked me, and therefore I implored him to stay a month or 15 days at least until I could fetch

[1] *27th Purattâsi, Bhava*

[2] *28th Purattâsi, Bhava.*

dhoolies, palankins, carts, etc., from the city to remove my family. But he refused and persisted in departing. Thereupon I resolved to assemble my wife and children in a house and blow it up with gunpowder. But then he told me he had orders to remain with his troops, at which I was overjoyed, that you should thus escape the dishonour of reducing to despair him who has trusted the French these three years. Hereby both you and I have earned glory. Henceforth I will call my sons by your name. I have given your commander money for his expenses, and promised a lakh more in eight days. My army has advanced towards Madura whence two or three lakhs will be got ; so there will be no difficulty about money, and I will certainly pay it.'

When I had interpreted the letter, the Governor asked if Nandi Râjâ was really pleased, and ordered it to be translated into French so that he might dictate a reply.

I then took leave and went to the old Governor at the Fort, who said, 'I hear that you owe something to Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti, who lent you a pair of ear-rings ; he complains that you have not returned them, and refuses to sign the acknowledgment written by the country-writer for what he owes the Company, namely the amount due on Yâchama Nâyakkan's affair (less the 1,230

rupees due to me), and what you advanced to him and his gumastah for their expenses.' I replied, 'I have a pair of his ear-rings. But he owes me 1,000 rupees as well as a number of small sums, of which I have accounts. When the accounts are settled, any balance due may be paid. That is the right thing. But how can he refuse to sign the acknowledgment?' Thereupon he called Sêshâchala Chetti and Appu, and made the country-writer write out two receipts, according to the above details. The old Governor, Sêshâchala Chetti, and I signed them. One copy was kept to be delivered to the Governor's attorney and the other was given to me. I then took leave, went to my office and came home at noon.

Krishnappa and Krishnâchâri, Morâri Râo's vakîls, delivered Morâri Râo's letter to the Governor this afternoon. The Governor called me to interpret it. It says:—'M. Dupleix owes me about 12 lakhs of rupees. As you have succeeded him, and he is going to Europe, you must pay the debt. Indeed I need not doubt its repayment since it is payable by so great a man as you; and I know how I can recover it, since you are responsible for your predecessor's debts. Please send 20,000 flints through my vakîls who are with you.' Hearing this, he ordered a French translation of it to be written. We then took leave and

went to my office. The Governor went to the Fort to take leave of the old Governor who is departing for Europe.

Friday, October 11.[1]—The new Governor sent for me this morning, so I went and paid my respects. When he went to the Fort last evening to take farewell of the old Governor on his departure for Europe, the latter gave him letters from Salabat Jang and Shâh Nawâz Khân which had been delivered to him although addressed to the new Governor and to me. The new Governor gave me the letters and told me to interpret them. The letter says :—'You have written that you have come from Europe as the Pâdshâh's vizier, with many ships and men, to destroy his enemies. I rejoice at this, for they will be of assistance to me. The French are faithful friends. Let therefore our friendship increase. M. Bussy, the commander here, has conquered every enemy, however strong his fortress and however numerous his troops. Last year he wanted to go to Europe, but I detained him. He is about to go to Chicacole and Rajahmundry, to put his commandant in possession of those places.' My letter was as follows :—'I have learnt all things from your letter. Let my friendship with the French continue

[1] *29th Purattâsi, Bhava.*

and increase.' Shâh Nawâz Khân's letters were to the same effect.

The Governor listened to this with indifference and said nothing ; nor did he tell me to get them translated into French. Thinking that this ought to be done, I asked if the letters should be translated. He replied that, of course, I must get them written out, but without saying into French. I then asked him if my letters too should be translated. He made no answer beyond waving me away with his hand. He did not order the translation, because he was displeased with the letters. I gave him the French translation of Morâri Râo's letter and the Persian letter that came last night. I then went to the old Governor at the Fort at half-past eleven. There I paid him my respects and showed him M. Le Blanc's Covelong bond, and M. Brenier's bonds, together with an account, amounting to 2,800 and odd pagodas, for goods plundered. He said nothing, and went in to table. I waited till he had risen from table, when I repeated the matter. He called his private writer, M. Bertrand, and told him to make the necessary entries after examining the bonds. I, M. Bertrand and Râmâji Pandit, went to M. Bertrand's office, where I showed him the receipts and the account. M. Bertrand took

them to the old Governor who said that all the bonds were correct, but though he could not question the account of the plunder, he lacked time to inquire into it before returning to Europe, and that his successor must inquire both into that and Zâda Sâhib's[1] business, and give what may be due. He wrote accordingly, signed it and returned it. It was then half-past two, so I came home.[2]

This is what Râmaswâmi Pandit has written.

I heard to-day that an order had been made forbidding any to leave the town after eleven o'clock at night; so the Brâhmans, etc., who had gone out without knowing of this order, were seized and robbed of their money and clothes by the sepoys and soldiers patrolling the streets, and warned that those who did so to-morrow would be shot. It is said a musket was actually fired to terrify them. I did not hear any other news.

Sunday, October 13.[3]—M. St. Paul (the old Second), M. Albert [?] with a few officers and others went on board the *Duc d'Orleans* the vessel on which M. Dupleix is to sail. His property and Madame's comprised chests of clothes, ready money, the pendants, *turra*, etc.,

[1] Probably Razâ Sâhib is meant.
[2] Apparently there is some omission at this point.
[3] *31st Purattâsi, Bhava.*

found in Nâsîr Jang's treasury, jewels given him and Madame [?] at various times in his long government, jewels which he got in other ways—all these with monkeys, birds, musical instruments, and images out of the temples, were sent on board; but each kept a box with clothes for immediate wear and a box of papers. So they are ready to start at any moment. Thinking they would sail to-night, I asked M. Boyelleau, who said they would. I then went to my office.

Monday, October 14.[1]—This afternoon the new Governor visited the old one and told him there was no time to be lost as the ship was ready to sail. But he answered that he would go on board after supper. It was decided that he should sail at three o'clock next morning.

I visited the old Governor at the Fort, and asked him to sign some accounts regarding our transactions. I said, 'You have shown me great kindness for the last thirteen years. Be pleased to remember me and continue your kindness.'—'I will do so,' he answered. He was sauntering up and down.

Tuesday, October 15.[2]—A salute of 21 guns was fired at three o'clock this morning, when the old Governor, M. le Marquis Dupleix,

[1] *1st Purattâsi, Bhava.* *Sic.* The date should be the 1st Arppisi.
[2] *2nd Arppisi, Bhava.*

went on board with his wife, her daughter Chonchon, Madame Aubert (M. Aumont's daughter), M. d'Auteuil's children and their attendants, M. Kerjean, his wife, M. Arnault, four of M. Dupleix' blood-relations who came out this year, the opera-people [?], Demai, Innâsi and other Topass servants. A similar salute was fired when they had got on board. M. Albert [?], M. Boyelleau, M. du Bausset, M. Delarche, etc., went in a chelinga and after accompanying M. Dupleix on board the *Duc d'Orleans*, they returned and reported to M. Godeheu, the new Governor. They then went to their homes. I went down to the Beach at six o'clock, to see the ship. She fired a salute of 21 guns ; and the same number was returned from the shore. The ships' captains then fired, and were answered with 14 guns. She then set sail.

As I watched this, I remembered how he used to say that he hoped to leave his bones here in Pondichery. Yet now he, great as he was, has been dismissed, accused and arrested. Who can trust in wealth ? Nâsîr Jang, though Lord of the Six subahs and a half in the Deccan for the Delhi Pâdshâh, yet trembled, for his courtiers and the Pathans, Himmat Bahâdûr Khân of Kandanûr, 'Abd-ul-nabî of Cuddapah, 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân of Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram, his son Karîm Khân and

others, conspired together to kill him; but the credit of it was ascribed to M. Dupleix, so that the throne of Delhi shook at the terror of his name. His army accompanied Salabat Jang to the Narbadâ, 200 leagues away, and gloriously defeated Sau Bhâji Râo; yet this great man has been arrested and put with his property on board ship. Such is the fate of the man who seeks his own will without the fear of God; but he who acts with circumspection, and refrains from molesting the upright, escapes falling into sin. But a man's thoughts depend upon the times and seasons. Who then can be blamed? Such is the world. He who is destined to happiness will be wise; and he who is destined to misery will be foolish. Do not the Vedas say so? What was to be has come to pass.

When a Governor goes home, it is usual to hoist a coloured flag at the main-mast-head. A few wonder why this has not been done, but the reason is that he is going under arrest for some crime with which he has been charged.

The *Saptha Shâstra* truly says that he will reap evil who takes a woman's advice. Madame alone has caused all M. Dupleix' troubles; but he did not understand this till matters were irretrievable, and then he said as much to some Europeans. He has eaten

the fruit of his actions. I need not write it in detail. Twelve years and nine months ago yesterday on the morning of Sunday, January 14, 1742, he landed here from Bengal to become our Governor. In all this time, he has gained lakhs upon lakhs by my efforts, but has never troubled about me. In all this time, I myself have given him over a lakh of pagodas by sharing profits with him, by making presents, and by the adjustment of accounts. Thus I have become indebted to the Company, besides other small debts. Both he and I have copies of the accounts explaining everything. Moreover when in 1749, I leased from Chandâ Sâhib Tiruviti, Bhuvanagiri, Tîrtanagari, Venkatâmpêttai, Tindivanam, and Achcharapâkkam, etc., places, I was put to loss by the troubles at the time of Nâsîr Jang's coming. After his death, Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân was slain in battle on his departure from his place, and was succeeded by Salabat Jang. When he had returned to Hyderabad in April, they wished to take the management from me by reason of Chandâ Sâhib's dislike to me. But I complained that the countries had been leased to me for three years, that Nâsîr Jang had held it from January to March; and that therefore it ought to be left to me for the full term. When I and Chandâ Sâhib discussed this in the

Governor's presence, he decided that I should keep the countries for three years according to the lease witnessed by M. Delarche and Madanânda Pandit, on condition of paying three lakhs of rupees, one lakh each year. Nârâyana Sâstri, son of Îswara Ayyan of Villupuram had offered a bond for the payment of one lakh for each current year on Âni 30, and surrender the country. When the accounts had been examined, it was decided that this should be accepted, his bond was taken and the country delivered to him. But when I showed the bond to the Governor and told him of the agreement, he said I must give him the bond as I was indebted to the Company. His anger was boundless ; so I gave him the bond. Afterwards I sent my man to the Governor's writer Muttappa Nâyakkan with the money which had been paid by Nârâyana Sâstri, and had a lakh entered in the accounts in my name. But next year Madame Dupleix got the lease for Rangô Pandit ; and when I spoke to M. Dupleix, he said, 'What does it matter to whom it is given ? I am responsible for your lakh of rupees.' When I went again with Nârâyana Sâstri about the country, he said he would only give what remained after paying my debt to the Company and dismissed us. As he was Governor, I could not even demand the balance. Nor was that all. There

was money owing to me on the contract, and on account of the English plundering—8,000 pagodas altogether. But when I asked for this, he grew angry ; and it was just the same, when I asked for the 50,000 rupees due on balance of the money transactions. I did nothing more till the new Governor, M. Godeheu, came, and I was asked for the accounts. When I produced them, he gave a writing that 46,000 and odd rupees due on my private transactions should be adjusted in the Company's accounts, as well as the Covelong business. He gave me back the bond[1] for three lakhs of rupees and then spoke of other matters, in order to put it out of my mind and told me I could go. 'But,' I said, 'if you do not pay me the three lakhs of rupees, I shall sink under my debt to the Company and my various other debts. From the day when this town became populous and flourishing[2] till now, Europeans have made 40, 50 and 60 lakhs of rupees, have obtained the title of Nawâb, and rule the country, using the Fish and other emblems of power. But I who was the root and support of this prosperity have secured nothing but debt. I can blame nothing but my fortune.' And with my head bowed

1 Reading *maru tîpu* for *marudi.*

2 Reading *âna janapattanam ârambichathumuthal* for *âna sannapattanam pichathumuthal.*

towards my belly, I added, 'If you will but pay this money so that I can pay the Company's and my other debts, I and all mine will, by your favour, be made happy ; and I shall pray for your prosperity. Others for their own benefit have given petitions complaining of the bribes they paid to you ; them you sent for and gave bonds to. You know well what sums I have paid ; and God knows also. Your accounts, my heart and mind all bear witness. Scorning to be as unjust as others, I only ask for what you yourself promised me. Be pleased to stop the wound of my debts.' He said he would see about it and again dismissed me.

Thinking therefore he would be just to me, and that even if he were not, it would be improper to speak of it in another's ear, I waited, and at last gave him two written petitions, which he read and returned, still putting me off with promises ; so that in the end I resolved to present a petition to M. Godeheu, and wrote one. This I showed to him [M. Dupleix] together with a paper signed by him. He told me to wait till the ship sailed. I took the papers therefore and put them in my chest, but still visited him. Last night he said he was leaving at seven or eight o'clock to-day and would then do what I wished, but instead I heard the guns announcing his departure at

three o'clock. So how could I see him? I can only continue my labour. I dwelt in truth and justice under his government; but from first to last he regarded neither justice nor truth. Without God's help no labours can serve to make one rich. My future fortune is to be seen.

Thursday, October 17.[1]—At ten o'clock this morning, I visited M. Godeheu with Venkatanârânappa Ayyan, the Mysore vakîl, with Nandi Râjâ's letter that came last night, and the French translation. Having read it, M. Godeheu asked Venkatanâranappa Ayyan whether Nandi Râjâ did not wish M. Maissin to remain with him. The other answered, 'His letter came yesterday, and he has also desired me to speak about it.' M. Godeheu said his letter did not mention it, and told me to get my letter translated. I explained that it was the same as his letter of the day before yesterday. He denied it. But I asked him to read it. He, therefore, looked at the Persian letter, at the head of which was written in French, the name of the writer, with the year, month and day. He said, 'This is the usual way of writing in French, but I have received nothing else in French.' He then questioned his writer who came in to get a letter signed.

[1] *4th Arppisi, Bhava.*

The latter replied, 'You gave me a letter yesterday, and orders have been sent to M. Maissin, the commander, to remain with him.' He agreed, and, turning to Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, said, 'Write to your Râjâ that I constantly desire his welfare, and I will do nothing that is not for his interests, but that he must ever trust me and do as I wish him to.' Venkatanâranappa Ayyan said that the Râjâ had ordered him to say that he regarded the Governor as nothing less than his elder brother. 'Then,' M. Godeheu continued, 'write to him that all shall be done as he wishes ; I have written to M. Maissin to remain with him, but he must not attack Muhammad 'Alî Khân or the English, or their countries.' The vakîl replied, 'Madura is in the hands of Alam Khân's people and we are concerned about it. It belongs to neither Muhammad 'Alî Khân nor the English, but was held by 'Alam Khân for Chandâ Sâhib, and has not been troubled for these two years past, but is liable to be attacked from Trichinopoly, when Alam Khân's people are there.'

The Governor then asked if ambassadors had come from the Maravan Tondimân.[1] I replied that they were expected. He then questioned Venkatanâranappa Ayyan if his

[1] Represented now by the Râjâ of Pudukkôttai.

master, Nandi Râjâ, had written to him about the eight yards of cloth of gold and two pistols, sent as presents. He replied his elder brother had written that M. Maissin had presented the Râjâ with some Europe cloth of gold, etc., a dress of honour and a pair of pistols. The Governor replied that he himself had sent them.

Venkatanâranappa Ayyan then said that Mahfuz Khân was about to attack Madura, and, if so, that it should be permitted to attack him. [The Governor] looked at a map of the southern countries, and, having found Madura, he exchanged compliments with the vakîl, telling him that he had ordered M. Maissin to remain with Nandi Râjâ, as a proof of his regard, and that all matters should be [settled] with him.

Saturday, October 19.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, I found the Company's merchants there. After strictly ordering them to supply goods without delay, I went to the *Gouvernement*, and paid my respects to M. Godeheu and other gentlemen there. M. Godeheu and M. Barthélemy afterwards sent for me. M. Barthélemy was telling M. Godeheu that the two runaway headmen of the *Kaikkôlars*[2] had been caught and

[1] *6th Arppisi, Bhava.*

[2] See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. III, pp. 31, etc.

imprisoned, and that I wished to speak to him about it. I said, 'Last year M. St. Paul spoke to Madame Dupleix, and she procured these *Kaikkôlars* to be appointed headmen, and all were obliged to agree, though a few had at first to be imprisoned. If they complain of these men having been forced upon them, you, who have come out as Governor to do justice, should be pleased to ascertain the ancient custom, enquire into this violation, and punish the guilty.' He asked what had been done before. I replied, 'When headmen are appointed in any caste, the caste-people assemble to choose two. They report their choice to the chief dubâsh, who confirms it and dismisses them with *pân supârî*. This is what should be done.' The Governor and the Second agreed. M. Barthélemy then said that the heads of the Tamils wanted leave and assistance to rebuild the temple.[1] M. Godeheu observed that the Company could never contribute anything, and that the Company's orders must be had before the temple was rebuilt. I replied, 'Your predecessor unjustly destroyed the temple, and grieved the towns-people. But they believe you to be just, and sympathetic. If you give such orders, the town will decline yet more.' He said, 'There are already two

[1] The Vêdapuri Îswaran Temple, destroyed in 1748.

temples—one dedicated to Siva and the other to Vishnu.' I continued, 'The Siva temple belongs to the left-hand castes, and the Vêdapuri Îswaran Temple, which belonged to the right-hand castes, was destroyed. Therefore they beg that a new temple may be built.' I then explained to him the disputes between the two groups, as a result of which the Kâlahasti Îswaran Temple had been built when M. Hébert was governor. Among us Tamils, worship comes first. At Madras, Negapatam, and elsewhere, the Companies have bestowed money.[1] That need not be done, but if in other respects the same were done, within two years the town would abound with all castes of Tamils, Guzarâtis, and Hindustani folk.' M. Godeheu [ ]. I added, 'The English Company at Madras and the Dutch Company at Negapatam not only make a monthly allowance, but send officers with a dozen soldiers, sepoys, or peons at festival times to prevent disorder. I myself have seen this. Our Company's merchants are always saying that the town will not flourish unless the same is done here; otherwise it must decay.' When I persisted in speaking thus, M. Godeheu admitted that this was true, but

[1] It is unlikely that the Dutch Company contributed to build temples. The English in some instances allowed tolls to be collected for their support.

said that he could give no orders without the Company's permission, although it was the reason why the town had not thriven, because men could not follow the customs of their caste. He would say nothing more. M. Delarche who was present, every now and then raised objections, and M. Barthélemy said to me that some of the Tamils objected to the proposed temple. I replied that every man must speak up for his own religion; and that he who did not must be a bastard. The three looked at one another in silence. Then M. Godeheu asked M. Barthélemy when the temple had been pulled down and when the Governor promised to rebuild it. He answered, 'It was destroyed when people quitted the town at the time of the siege'; and M. Delarche confirmed this. The Governor then asked when a promise had been made to build it at the Company's cost. I replied, 'In the time of M. Lenoir and his predecessors, orders were received from the King of France to destroy the Vêdapuri Îswaran Temple. All the caste-people were summoned, and told that a temple would be built elsewhere, as it was in the middle of the street and their own church had to be built there. But the caste-people all persisted in declaring that they would rather die than have the temple demolished. So orders were obtained

from Europe that all should be allowed to follow their own religion. M. Lenoir thereupon said he would permit a new temple to be built, and allowed the car and other festivals to be celebrated as men pleased. Therefore the town increased and trade flourished; and 4,000 or 5,000 houses were suffered to be built beyond the gates, and within the Bound-hedge. Then was great plenty of goods and money. But now there is not a house outside, and houses inside the gates stand empty with only mud walls. The town is so impoverished that you cannot find goods for 100 pagodas and money is not to be had. What was done in M. Lenoir's time must be repeated; and men must be freed from fear and suffered to do as they please, as is done in Madras, Negapatam and other places which belong to the Europeans. If only a half or a quarter of their privileges were given, the town would prosper and you would become famous [ ].' He replied, 'It is but right that each should do as he pleases. I shall see what can be done when the Europe ships sail in January.' M. Barthélemy said that I should enlist the favour of Father Lavaur, the Superior of the St. Paul's church. I replied, 'Each one should look to his own business; he who governs should treat all alike.' He then said, 'Let the weavers who have gone away

return and live in peace under two heads of their own choice.' I suggested that he should release the men who were in prison, and tell them so. He agreed and stood up. M. Delarche also rose. When M. Barthélemy had gone, M. Delarche told the Governor that a letter should be written to the poligar of Udaiyârpâlaiyam who had paid no peshkash for three years, that, unless he paid, the French troops from Trichinopoly and Vriddhachalam, would seize his jungles and country, and establish another in his place. On being asked why no peshkash had been demanded for three years, he replied, 'It was so,' and the Governor said carelessly that a letter should be written.

It was also directed that, as the old poligar had died a month ago, his successor should be told to send in all the goods that were ready. A letter was written, sealed, and sent accordingly, together with another from me.

Then [? the vakîls of] Morâri Râo [? came], asking what more should be written. 'I have already told you what to write. Have you not done so?' he asked.

[One replied], 'Two of us are here. I will go and return when I have spoken about the accounts.'

'Very well,' the Governor said. But M. Delarche said, 'His master Morâri Râo cannot

remain, for his country is being plundered by the Pathans ; so he will return home.' So the Governor continued, 'You can go when your master goes.' They said, 'Very well. But we have given Pâpayya Pillai a receipt for the mortgaged countries ; a certain sum has been paid, and you promised to give orders on the amaldârs for the balance of 30,000 rupees.' M. Delarche replied, 'The old Governor has gone, and so his business is closed. That matter cannot be re-opened.'

M. Godeheu seemed to approve what was said. The vakîl answered, 'Then why should we stay here? We gave receipts, trusting that Morâri Râo's money would be paid, and Morârî Râo said that part of what was collected under the mortgage must be paid to him[1] ; so we borrowed 12,000 or 13,000 rupees from the merchants here, and they are troubling us.' But M. Delarche persisted in what he had said. Krishnamâchâri was then dismissed and I took leave and went to my private office.

The news of Wednesday[2] the 17th :— Gôpâlanâranappa Ayyan, Petti, Innâsi, Mutta Pillai, etc., were put in the dungeon about the Turaiyûr affair. Sundara Perumâl, elder brother of Chandrasêkharan, Pâpayya Pillai's

1 The Tamil of this passage is very corrupt, and its meaning uncertain.

2 *Sic.* The day of the week should be Thursday.

son-in-law, was put in the dungeon west of the Fort gate, to compel him to reveal where he had put his money.

Tuesday, October 22.[1]—At seven o'clock this morning, I went to the Fort. M. Godeheu the Governor, the officers, and captains, who had gone to church returned to the *Gouvernement*, and talked in the hall downstairs. When I salaamed, the Governor asked me whether Morâri Râo had reached Arni or thereabouts. I replied, 'He is remaining in that country, demanding one lakh or fifty thousand from the Vellore, Arni and other forts. He is taking whatever he can get, seizing women, and burning or destroying the country that refuses to give as he marches through. He has done this round Tiruvannâmalai, Vellore, Arni and their villages. He means to do this all along his march as he goes home.'

The Governor then asked the Madras news. I replied, 'Mr. Pigot arrived from Vizagapatam and became Governor on October 16.[2] Mr. Saunders will be Chief Governor and Commissary, to conclude peace during the three months' truce. He has recalled sepoys to Madras, leaving only a few in the several garrisons. Mr. Lawrence and the English

[1] *9th Arppisi, Bhava.*

[2] He took his seat as Second of Council, and did not become Governor until the departure of Saunders in the January following.

soldiers at Trichinopoly are marching to Fort St. David, leaving behind a commandant with a few men.[1] They will arrive in a few days. One ship has sailed and another is ready to be despatched for Europe, and goods are coming and going.' The Governor said that he knew all this, and asked whether the people of Pondichery desired war or peace with the English. I replied, 'The merchants, ryots and all people desire peace, and pray with all their hearts that God will be pleased to send some happy man to establish peace throughout the country and restore content to the people. Only the smaller portion of the people, the sepoys, jemadars, soldiers, officers and troopers, they who live by plunder selfishly, wish that war should be continued.' He agreed.

At three o'clock this afternoon, the Governor sent for me. I went with Madanânda Pandit. The Governor's writing-room is upstairs looking east and south. He was talking to his younger brother M. Clouët, M. Law and others; but came into his room on seeing us. He then gave us Bâlâji Râo's letter to M. Dupleix and ordered us to interpret it. Its contents are as follows :—

[1] Lawrence was summoned to Madras, but the army remained at Trichinopoly under the command of first Killpatrick and then Heron.

'Although I have sent you two or three letters and also vakîls, yet you have not paid a cash of the *chauth* for the last two years. I now send Narasinga Râo to you. You should appoint his men amaldârs for the *chauth*[1] and send me what is due for the last two years; otherwise our friendship will become enmity. So behave that this comes not to pass. Last year my intention was to send my troops thither; but I refrained lest the state of the country should be thereby rendered worse. But now I must do so, unless your behaviour is changed.' A slip of paper was enclosed with the following words :—'A certain island (the name I do not know) with a fort thereon is held by the Hubshis.[2] My ancestors strove to capture it, but could not. I have resolved to do so, and have sent my forces with all that is needed. If you will send troops with powder, shot, cannon, etc., by ship, our friendship will increase.' The letter also says that his brother Raghunâtha Râo, and his gumastah Mulhari Holkar, had installed Alamgîr as Emperor of Delhi after imprisoning Ahmad Shâh, of which the Governor had probably heard.

[1] The Marathas always claimed that the *chauth* should be collected by their own people.

[2] Ranga Pillai writes 'Avisikal.' But he probably means the Angrias, whom the Marathas attacked in the following year with aid from Bombay.

After this, the Governor inquired the contents of Madame Dupleix' letter. I said it ran as follows :—'I have written a letter to M. Dupleix, desiring him to send the *chauth* due for the last two years. In future it must be collected by Narasinga Râo whom I have sent.' The Governor said he had expected this.

He then desired the letter from Salabat Jang received through M. Bussy to be interpreted. It was as follows :—'By reason of M. Bussy's skill and wisdom, I have sent him with forces to Rajahmundry, Chicacole and other places, to settle the revenues, and then return. Should the revenues be delayed in collection, let money be given him to raise the necessary troops, so that the poligars and others may pay the peshkash and he may return to me. If you do this, it will be a token of your friendship.' When I had interpreted the letter, he gave me a duplicate of the same. After reading it I said that it contained nothing new. I was then given to read a copy of Salabat Jang's former letter to M. Bussy. I said that it only ordered M. Bussy to return speedily. M. Godeheu observed that he had ordered M. Bussy to return. 'That was well done,' I said.

The Governor then gave me copies of [Bâlâji] Râo's letters to M. Bussy. They

say :—'The Pondichery people have paid no *chauth* for two years. I have therefore written to the Governor to pay the Arcot *chauth* and transact all that business by means of my gumastah Narasinga Râo. I have despatched troops against the Hubshis who occupy an island in the sea ; and of this also I have written to the Governor of Pondichery.'

When I had interpreted these letters, he told me to get them translated into French, so I gave them to Madanânda Pandit, namely Sau Bhâji Râo's letters to M. and Madame Dupleix, Salabat Jang's letters to M. Godeheu and M. Bussy and copies of Bhâji Râo's letters to M. Bussy. I told him to give them to M. Delarche, to be translated into French.

M. Godeheu then asked for Nandi Râjâ's letter to be interpreted. Before Madanânda Pandit began, M. Godeheu having noticed the envelope, asked how [Nandi Râjâ] had got Europe paper, and whether it had not been written in Pondichery. Madanânda Pandit replied that the writing was just the same as usual, and that there was plenty of Europe paper to be had. When he thus answered vaguely, the Governor observed that Madame Dupleix had told him that she had done that sort of thing, that others here would do the like, and that he had to be on his guard. He added that Madanânda Pandit was very

capable of playing such tricks, and asked if that was not the case now. He replied that Madame Dupleix had often done such things and that he himself had done as he was told. The Governor then told him to interpret Nandi Râjâ's letter.

It says, 'In my former letter, I informed you that if you would allow your troops to remain for 15 days, I should be able to settle the matter of the 60 lakhs of rupees with the English and Muhammad 'Alî, whose proposals I had refused, so that I should find means to pay your debt and return to my country. Now you have agreed with him without my knowledge on a three months' truce. But they only offered me the 60 lakhs when their fort was besieged, their provisions stopped, and their people hindered from going out.[1] But now that there is no fear, they will strengthen themselves with forces and provisions; how then can I bring them to terms? They will pay nothing but increase their strength. By January the term of agreement will have expired and they will have devised other plans. Write a reply to this. The other news has been written to vakîl Venkatanâranappa Ayyan and Ânanda Ranga Râo who will

[1] Details of the English negotiations with Mysore will be found in the *Military Consultations, 1754*, especially under the dates May 13 and October 24. It does not seem that they ever made a definite offer of 60 lakhs, but only considered the Mysore proposals.

inform you of it.' When the contents had been thus reported, he ordered a French translation to be made and drove out to Olukarai. I went to my office.

Friday, October 25.[1]—At nine o'clock this morning, the agent of the old Gingee man and a relation of the Râjâ of old Gingee, brought a dress of honour. When they visited the Governor, he said that they could settle the business of their jaghir and peshkash. They said they would do so by means of M. Delarche. 'Very well,' he replied. They were given *pân supârî*, and rose water, and dismissed.

The Governor then told me to seal the letter written by M. Delarche to 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah, asking him to send a vakîl, and despatch it by two of our harkaras with his man (a Muhammadan whose name I do not know). M. Delarche said, 'When M. Dupleix imprisoned the Cuddapah agent who came about Mudâmiah ('Abd-ul-nabî Khân's vakîl), Morâri Râo's vakîl, Mysore vakîl, etc., interceded and pleaded for his release, threatening not[2] to depart unless he were set free. Thereupon he was led outside the bounds and released. Since then nobody has been willing to go as our vakîl.

[1] *12th Arppisi, Bhava.*
[2] Apparently this should be deleted.

Dupleix has done so much like this that the whole country lost confidence in him.'

Then a letter to Taqî Sâhib was sealed and the lease for the Tindivanam country drawn up in the names of Râja Pillai, with Nainiya Pillai, the writer of the country forts, as his surety, for 50,000 for 1754–1755 and 60,000 for 1756–1757, exclusive of the jaghirs and the cost of *sibbandis*.

Taqî Sâhib's letter runs thus:—'I have received the dress of honour and the horse sent by you. About the jaghir, I will send a letter by Subbâ Râo your vakîl. Ayyan Sâstri has been removed from the Tiruvottiyûr country. Udaiyâ Nayinâr (son-in-law of Agastiyappa Nayinâr) has been appointed amaldâr for the present. See that the affair he will tell you of prospers.'

The Brâhman also sealed another paper but I know not what it was. The Governor then dismissed M. Delarche and me.

He asked what was to be done if Mysore Venkatanâranappa Ayyan's affair was not taken up. I said that as we had been dismissed, we had better wait until the Governor sent for us again. He went home displeased with my answer. I went to my office, where I gave the Cuddapah letter to the harkaras

and despatched them with the Pathan for that place.

There was also a letter for M. Brenier to allow the dead body of Mudâmiah buried at Gingee[1] to be dug up, and taken to Nagore. His people took the letter and went to Gingee.

Saturday, October 26.[2]—This afternoon I heard that the renters of the bound-villages had given the Governor a petition against Appu Mudali which he had handed to M. Barthélemy, the Second, for enquiry. Appu was accordingly questioned and put in the dungeon, tied head and foot, and kept in the sun. When asked if he had taken a bribe of 10,000 rupees, and yet given the lands to other persons, and why he had not given a *mâniam* of two cawnies in Alisapâkkam, he replied that M. Dupleix had done this, that he himself had only obeyed orders, and that M. Delarche and M. du Bausset could explain all. He was then placed under the charge of two sepoys, with orders that he was not to leave the town ; and guards were set over his house. I hear that he has been told that further enquiries will be made.

I hear this afternoon that M. Barthélemy sent for Chinna Parasurâma Pillai and Vinâyaka Pillai to enquire into the former's complaint against the latter. Vinâyaka Pillai has

[1] Where he had died in captivity.
[2] [*13th*] *Arppisi, Bhava.*

eight days' time in which to prepare an answer to the complaint.

Tuesday, October [*29*].[1]—This morning the weather was cloudy and drizzling. Brown cloth and Udaiyârpâlaiyam cloth were sorted and given out to be washed.

Then I took to the Governor translations of the three letters given to me yesterday. He was upstairs with M. Barthélemy, M. Delarche and an officer. M. Barthélemy was reporting that a European ship's captain named M. Chantoiseau, had complained that a certain Company's peon had not brought fish as he had been ordered to yesterday ; for which he had received 30 stripes and had complained to the Governor. The Governor asked M. Barthélemy if the peon should have been beaten, and M. Barthélemy was justifying it. Such was the conversation.

[M. Barthélemy] also mentioned settling at Kârikâl the affair of Vasanta Chetti's people, who were formerly here, by giving Madame a diamond ring worth 1,000 rupees. Tiruvêngadam was fetched up to settle the matter. He thought that Rangappan's 1,200 pagodas and the arecanut mortgage of 1,000 pagodas ordered to be given, need not be mentioned. I do not know what else was said before he

1 [*16th*] *Arppisi*, *Bhava.*

went away ; but his dubâsh was present, and if asked, can relate the whole.

M. Delarche accompanied Chandâ Sâhib's man Râghava Pandit, to present the Governor with a dress of honour and a pendant, and his younger brother with a dress of honour, which had been procured by M. Delarche through Chandâ Sâhib's son. A salute of seven guns was fired. Râghava Pandit who marched behind the dress of honour was dismissed with *pân supârî* and rose water.

I then brought Madanânda Pandit to salute the Governor, and said, 'Rangô Pandit was imprisoned at Fort St. David with Shaikh Hasan. The latter escaped but the former still is there. As the European and other prisoners are to be released by both sides, the Brâhman begs that you will procure Rangô Pandit's release as he is his amaldâr.' The Governor did not agree at first, but afterwards said that he would write.

When he was about to go into his room, I gave him back the three papers he gave me yesterday with French translations. Having read them, he told M. Delarche that they contained the defence of Savarirâya Pillai, Innâsi, Mutta Pillai, and Arcot Mutta Pillai, for jealously writing to prevent the Turaiyûr people from paying Paramânandan.[1] He

1 Cf. p. 66 *supra*. The Tamil of this passage is uncertain.

turned to me and told me to inquire fully into this. He then went in with the letters. We took leave, and I went to the sorting-godown where I saw M. Miran.

Vinâyaka Pillai came to me and complained that Parasurâma Pillai had complained against him. When M. Miran told Vinâyaka Pillai that the whole town, and even children ten years old, had witnessed his injustice in imprisoning Parasurâma Pillai, and asked if he could deny it, Vinâyaka Pillai admitted this, and said that he must submit to what might happen, and people could say what they liked. When M. Miran had gone away, Vinâyaka Pillai again mentioned the complaint against him and said that he would get the complaint and say in answer that I knew all the facts. I replied that my name could not be mentioned, and, having taken leave of him, went to my office.

Just after mid-day, Vasaman,[1] M. Barthélemy's dubâsh, met me, as I was coming home in my palankin, and said, 'Although you said nothing, I spoke to M. Barthélemy to-day, who told M. Godeheu, that the Negapatam merchant Vasanta Chetti, had borrowed money ten years ago from Ranga Pillai, and that this had been settled at Kârikâl by

[1] *Sic.* Perhaps we should read *Râman*, subsequently mentioned as M. Barthélemy's dubâsh.

[M. Barthélemy] for 1,200 pagodas and a bond for 1,000 pagodas on the areca-nuts, when a diamond ring worth 1,000 rupees was given to Madame Dupleix; and he produced M. Dupleix' letter about the bond, ordering the people and Tiruvêngadam to be sent. As they could do as they pleased at Pondichery, he promised to get the bond and the money, and on their arrival ordered them to be imprisoned in the Nayinâr's house, until M. Delarche had inquired into the matter, as it had been settled by [M. Barthélemy]. The written sentence was therefore given to M. Delarche. Although Ranga Pillai had not accepted the settlement for the 3,000 pagodas due to him [M. Barthélemy,] nevertheless claimed to have settled the affair.' The dubâsh also accompanied me to my house, told me the news, and then departed. I told him about my petition to M. Dupleix and what had taken place, showed him the petition and gave it to him to be shown to his master. But afterwards, I sent Ellappa Chetti to get it back, and put it into my box, as I can show it him at a suitable time. I write only the chief points of what was said.

Gôpâlanâranappa Ayyan of the Villupuram country, who in the year 1749–1750 obtained the amaldârship by means of Sêshâ Râo from the southward, who got great sums of money,

and escaped to Cuddalore during Nâsîr Jang's invasion, who helped Nâsîr Jang against the French, and then joined our enemy Muhammad 'Alî Khân, is said at last, finding he cannot remain there, to have got permission to visit the Governor through the St. Paul's priests and M. Law, and has got a promise from him. Now that this man is here, he will never keep quiet, but will interfere in everything and especially Villupuram; but what he will do remains to be seen.

A messenger from M. Bussy arrived to-day from Masulipatam, whence letters are coming every two or three days.

A letter came from Mr. Saunders at Madras. I suppose the Cuddalore rumours are that Muhammad 'Alî Khân is coming from Trichinopoly to Cuddalore to discuss peace.

I did not go out as the rain which began suddenly yesterday afternoon continued till six this evening.

Madanânda Pandit sends the following news :—

'M. Delarche sent for me and said, "A certain European who dresses like an Arab and was formerly in Mu'tabar Khân's service as master-gunner after quarrelling with him joined Wahâb Khân's troopers in Sâmâ Râo's service. He visited M. Godeheu to-day and told him that, when M. d'Auteuil and others

were captured at Vâlikondâpuram, their munitions, powder, shot and cartridges were seized by Mu'tabar Khân, and kept in a house in Ranjangadai. Mu'tabar Khân not only betrayed M. d'Auteuil and others but also seized their money, while their munitions were delivered up to the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân. Thereupon M. Godeheu sent for me[1] and told me to write a sharp letter commanding Mu'tabar Khân and his vakîl to send everything to M. Maissin at Trichinopoly."' We shall see what Mu'tabar Khân replies.

When I went to the Fort this morning, I walked with M. Cornet and M. Martin up and down the sorting-godown. I told them I had seen the fall of the unfinished part of the tall belfry, newly built this year by M. Dupleix, the former Governor, for the Padres' Church opposite.[2] It was in course of being plastered. Dharmasiva Chetti had said that it might fall in the next rains, but not sooner. M. Martin remarked that to-day was a ceremony like the Tamil ceremony of the *Mahâlayapaksham*,[3] in memory of departed souls, and that as M. Godeheu and others were going to church,

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[1] *i.e.*, Delarche.

[2] *Sc.*, opposite my house.

[3] The period so called is the 'dark half' of Purattâsi—*i.e.*, when the moon is on the wane. It is intended to provide for those departed whose descendants have forgotten to perform or have been prevented from performing the annual commemorative ceremony.

he would go at once and tell him beforehand. He then went upstairs. I gave orders that no one should go near the church. When Bishop Noronha of Mylapore had finished service in the church, he went out by that gate. When everything was ready for the next service, M. Legou's son and two or three others being in the church, the top part gave way, and the bell and the stone arch above, fell near the church door and part broke into the church. The north wall cracked here and there. The noise brought all flocking thither. M. Godeheu watched it from his upper story. The councillors and other gentlemen who witnessed it said that, when it was built, people foretold its collapse. M. Dupleix had not been able to complete it till recently only for it to fall at once. M. le Marquis Dupleix built this belfry onto the church, and made it loftier than the flagstaff. Its fall is an ill-omen. The church was finished in 1723, thirty-one years ago, out of the money given by Coja Saffar, the Armenian, and stood till now without fault. What is destined must happen, but only at the appointed time. A man can neither escape nor foresee destiny.

The Governor then sent for M. Sornay, and told him to inspect the place and do what was necessary. Sentries were posted to prevent people from going near.

When M. le General Godeheu, the councillors and others had taken coffee upstairs, and were about to proceed to the Capuchins' church outside the Fort, I paid my respects and said, 'God has caused this to happen to manifest His love towards you. If the building had fallen half an hour later, you and many others would have been in peril. But you did not merit this, and God desired to manifest His love towards you, that all may dwell happily under your rule.'—'True,' he said, 'I do always seek others' welfare; and therefore God protects me. Thank you for your good words.' I thanked him in return. All the councillors and others present addressed compliments to me on my words; but one indeed, M. Delarche, looked awry.

The Governor then signed the pay sheet[1] which M. Delarche had brought, heard mass in the Capuchins' church near the Fort, and returned.

Then he called me and gave me Nandi Râjâ's letter to interpret. It says:—'You have recalled all your troops but 300 military and 1,000 foot with a commander. The English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân are great rogues. I have moved with them and done business with them. None knows them as I. They are

[1] Reading *mâsachchambalam* for *marachchambalam*.

gathering troops at the Fort daily, 100 military or 200 sepoys at a time. I have only a small force at Srîrangam; and who will protect me if they come against me before I can send you word and your troops can arrive? When Major Lawrence went to Madras, he took with him only a few soldiers. I write this because your commander has only a small force. Write to me about this.'

When I had interpreted the letter, he told me to write reassuring Nandi Râjâ, saying that they could do him no harm, that Europeans never broke their word, and that Muhammad 'Alî Khân was going to Cuddalore. I accordingly took leave, translated it, and had the answer written to be despatched when he orders it.

300 soldiers and 1,000 sepoys have been left at Trichinopoly and the Srîrangam temple under the command of M. Maissin; and the remaining soldiers, sepoys and troopers have reached the washing-place near the little fort outside.

Although there were orders that the bleached cloth should be well-dyed and the wet cloth beaten, they refused to do so.

NOVEMBER 1754.

Monday, November 4.[1]—As it was the name-day of M. Godeheu, the Commander-General, a salute of 21 guns was fired at five o'clock. I went to the Fort at half-past six, but no one was there; nor was any one upstairs. I tried to see him, but Ellappan and Nâga Pillai said that he had not yet dressed, so that even I could not go in. When I was waiting in the central hall, M. Le Beaume and an officer came. When the Governor appeared at half-past eight, I gave him a bouquet saying, 'All pray that they may ever be as happy as they are on the name-day of Charles Robert Godeheu. May your happiness increase daily, with long life and wealth! As this is their daily prayer, God will surely grant you this from to-day onwards. Accept this bouquet with my prayers that God will bless you with wisdom to the prosperity of the town and to your own glory.' Thus I offered the bouquet. He accepted it. I then offered him that one of the three rings I got from M. Noüal, which is set with a large diamond and worth 350 pagodas. But he absolutely refused, telling me not to [offer such gifts]. As the Europeans were coming to pay their respects, the Governor said to me in kind

[1] *22nd Arppisi, Bhava.*

terms, 'What have I done that men should so think of me?' I replied that all our dependence was on him. Then the European gentlemen and ladies came, and all went to church. Before mass ended, three volleys and three salutes of 21 guns were fired. When the Governor left the church, and approached the parade, the men saluted him with their lances and colours, the captain of the European troopers with drawn sword, according to custom, and the trumpeters, drummers and fifers playing until he had entered the *Gouvernement.* He sat down to table with all the Europeans on the ground-floor. A salute of 21 guns was fired for the King's health. When all had finished, M. Godeheu went upstairs. There the Company's merchants were waiting to present him with a dress of honour embroidered with precious stones, and flowered with gold and silver, [worth] 200 rupees, and a diamond ring worth 400 pagodas. The Governor accepted only the dress of honour and refused the ring. The old Company's merchants also visited the Governor with *lungis*,[1] white broad-cloth, etc., worth 50 pagodas. Tiruviti Sêshâchala Chetti's daughter and Salatu Venkatâchala Chetti presented pieces of silk costing six and four pagodas,

[1] Literally *lungis* made of several small pieces.

respectively. All the rest presented him with limes. Mysore Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, etc., also visited the Governor. Then the letters of congratulations sent from Muzaffar Jang's sons and Shaikh Ibrâhîm's son with dresses of honour were interpreted. At the time appointed for Chandâ Sâhib's son's visit, the mint-people were ready with their present, but departed, leaving with me the diamond ring I had given them. Then Chandâ Sâhib's son, 'Alî Razâ Khân, 'Alî Naqî Sâhib and others, embraced the Governor and sat down. Chandâ Sâhib's son made the following presents :—

A rose-water sprinkler and salver set with precious stones ;

a plain gold sprinkler and salver ;

a betel-stand of fine Manilla work ; a silver-gilt drinking cup and plate ;

a fine pearl necklace with a pendant consisting of an emerald set round with rubies ;

a gold stand for cloves, nutmegs, mace and cardamoms ;

a *turra* set with precious stones ;

a great horse worth six or seven hundred rupees ;

a betel-stand set with precious stones ;

a plain gold rose-water sprinkler and a salver.

They estimated these presents at 10,000 or 12,000 rupees; but we reckoned them at 8,000.

When they paid their congratulations and offered these presents, a salute of 21 guns was fired. After a few words of compliment, a present was given to Chandâ Sâhib's [son] comprising broad-cloth, gold sprigged velvet, jewels, etc., worth 8,000 rupees. They received them and departed. M. Delarche acted as interpreter and arranged for the visit. M. Delarche made a mistake in this affair. The Governor does not know the custom of the country and allowed 21 guns to be fired. M. Delarche said that presents worth 15,000 rupees were to be given, but in fact they were only worth 8,000. He behaved just as when the Arcot people exercised authority ; but ever since 1749–1750, the French have been masters and [the Arcot people] have been under them. No more respect should have been shown than that used by M. le Marquis Dupleix. But M. Delarche arranged for the same respect as was shown when they were Nawâbs and trade flourished by land and sea. Neither I nor the Councillors were consulted about M. Delarche's proposals. By treating the Muhammadans as though they were still masters, he[1] has cast away half the glory that the French have acquired. People say that this was due to M. Delarche—as the

[1] The Governor is meant.

proverb says, 'Open your door, blind old woman.'

After Chandâ Sâhib's son had been dismissed with presents, Imâm Sâhib's son came with a dress of honour. He was given *pân supârî* and dismissed.

Writer Ranga Pillai then came with the amaldârs' renters who were told to give nazars of mohurs and pagodas, but M. Godeheu declined them. Thereupon they presented seven or eight rolls of silk. After dismissing their visitors, the brothers gazed at the pearl necklace with its pendant as if they had never seen such a thing before. I and the Europeans then took leave. The ceremony was not magnificent. He does not realize that visits should be conducted with grandeur ; nor will he take advice, except that of M. Delarche who cares for nothing but his own profit, and so has cast away the glory that followed on the death of Nâsîr Jang, when the Pâdshâh himself feared the French and the Muhammadans seemed but their subjects. The Governor has done this because the time has come for all this glory to be lost ; but M. Delarche advised him to it. The first knows not what he does. But the conduct of the other shows that Râja Lakshmi was continued here by the influence of Jupiter only until M. Dupleix departed. Since then the

planet's old influence has returned. I need say no more.

Wednesday, *November 6.*[1]—The troops returning from Trichinopoly are halted at Pombai.[2]

The cloth wetted at the washing-place by the rains was stored in the godown and covered up.

I hear that the Europeans have plundered much, and shown no respect for sex or age. Every man is as a Governor in the town. I cannot write our troubles. I write only the chief heads.

Saturday, *November 9.*[3]—At half-past four this evening, I heard that M. Godeheu was to inspect the troops lodged at the washing-place. So I went thither, expecting that the cloth affair might be mentioned, as it had caused delay, and the wooden blocks used for stamping had been buried and spoilt in the earth, so that no stamping could be done. I went with M. Renault who is in charge of the washing-place. Then we found the Governor, his younger brother M. Cloüet, and others in a coach and six. A company of military and 200 sepoys met them at the Bound-hedge gate with a standard. European troopers, who are

[1] *24th Arppisi, Bhava.* [2] Not identified.
[3] *27th Arppisi, Bhava.*

in sheds here, also escorted them. 1,400 military and 1,500 or 2,000 sepoys were drawn up. On the Governor's arrival in state, they saluted him according to custom. The minute guns[1] fired 21 rounds as he went along the first detachment, and the same as he inspected the Europeans. Then a bronze cannon and other great and powerful guns, set opposite the gate of the washing-place, were fired. These also fired 21 times. Afterwards, as the Governor went in, 21 guns were again fired. I and M. Renault stood before him as he entered, and paid our respects. He bowed in return. Then he looked round. We followed him through the mud and dirt ; but he asked no questions, and spoke to no one. When he had finished his inspection and was coming out again, the great cannon at the gate gave 21 shots. When he had finished and moved on again, 21 guns were fired. When he reached the *Asokasâlai*,[2] a minute gun fired 21 rounds. Then a body of Europeans was wheeled round and marched back to their former position. They were commanded by M. Saint Aulas who had commanded at Trichinopoly. M. Aumont and other officers were mounted and carried their swords drawn, in a rank in front. When

[1] That is, the field-pieces firing 12 rounds or so to the minute.
[2] I suspect a corruption of the text.

the Governor got into his carriage, 21 guns were fired. The troopers, sepoys, their sardars, M. Saint Aulas and the other officers, dragoons, etc., escorted him to the Madras gate, and some even to the Fort. I then went to my office, and came home at eight o'clock.

The sky was overcast this morning and the sun only appeared after seven o'clock. When I went to the Fort, M. Godeheu was examining the sentry-post at the east gate of the Fort. I paid my respects to him, and he bowed to me.

Ella Pillai told me that after dark Europeans had appeared with drawn swords, stabbing and killing many, and ravishing women. He said that, if I told the Governor about the troubles experienced by women whenever they went outside the gates, he would give the necessary orders. I therefore told M. Dusaussaye,[1] asking him to inform the Governor. He replied that he would tell the Governor and give orders, so that I need not mention it. I agreed.

Tuesday, November 12.[2]—I went to the Fort this morning, and told the Governor that a Europe ship was still lying off Madras on November 6. 'Just so,' the Governor replied. Then I reported the news, that Morâri Râo

[1] A Captain of 1750. In the next year he went to command the troops at Srîrangam.

[2] *30th Arppisi, Bhava.*

had reached his fort at Venkatagiri beyond the passes. He said he had heard so.

Then I told the Governor about the behaviour of the Europeans in the town—their feeling the breasts of, and otherwise shaming and molesting women who go beyond the gates to draw water, their cutting and stabbing men, their plundering the bazaars and the money-changers' shops, and their stopping the work in the washing-place by stealing or burying the stamping blocks. He said he would give orders to M. Saint Aulas, M. Pichaud, and the German officers to prevent soldiers from going out after dusk and that he would send them away from the washing-place in a week.

I heard this afternoon that 100 German soldiers, 100 French soldiers and 100 sepoys would be despatched under the command of M. Law to join M. Bussy's camp with Salabat Jang. They will halt in my choultry; and Vinâyaka Pillai will return after despatching them.

Wednesday, November 13.[1]—This morning I went to the Fort to see M. Godeheu. He was taking coffee upstairs. I paid my respects and he bowed.

Morâri Râo's vakîl, Krishnamâchâri, then brought a letter from Morâri Râo. The Governor received it.

[1] *1st Kârttigai, Bhava.*

The Company's merchants then came to ask for money for the contract.

The sons of Ghulâm Rasûl Khân, killedar of Sêkkidi,[1] had sent a dress of honour with a letter. When the dress of honour was presented and the letter interpreted, he asked why it contained nothing but compliments without mention of business. I said that they wished to congratulate him on his coming with a dress of honour. He told me to write a reply of compliments.

He then gave me Morâri Râo's letter to interpret. It says:—'I have come hither, made terms with the killedar of Vellore and others, and am now retiring to my country. I have ordered my troopers not to touch your territory. Send your money soon, with a vakîl and other persons. I trusted in M. Dupleix and the French that they would never break their promises. As you have succeeded M. Dupleix, who has departed to Europe, I lay the burden on you, and will abide by your decision.' He told me to get this written out in French; so I took it for that purpose.

He then told me to interpret the Turaiyûr Reddi's letter which says, 'Formerly Pâpayya Pillai, Nandi Râjâ and M. Mainville the commander, took three lakhs of rupees from me,

[1] Perhaps Sakkudi in the Madura district.

but then ruined the country. You are now Governor; so I hope that the troubles will now cease and I and my country be in peace. But the commander, M. Maissin, sent Paramânanda Pillai to me, demanding 30,000 rupees as a present for the new Governor. Fearing him and the Company, I agreed, paid him part of the amount, and will pay the rest. But while affairs are thus, Nandi Râjâ has seized Varadâ Reddi, and with his aid is collecting forces to attack me. My country is broken and miserable. Be pleased to order Nandi Râjâ and M. Maissin not to interfere with me. You may learn all things from my vakîl Kastûri Rangayyan.' He told me to bring a French translation of the letter.

He then asked if a reply had been written thanking the killedar of old Gingee for his dress of honour and letter. I replied, 'You ordered the affair about which he sent his agent to be settled by M. Delarche. When that is done and they are departing, I will give the reply.'—'Write a letter of compliment,' he said, giving me the letter for translation.

He then told me to reply to the letter from Haidar Khân, Mudâmiah's son-in-law, that a letter had been written to the killedar of Gingee for the removal of Mudâmiah's body to Nagore, and that the affair would be settled with due regard to justice at the proper time. I agreed.

A letter was then ordered for the poligar of Ariyalûr as follows:—'Why did you not pay when M. Saint Aulas demanded the money and why did you beat the vakîl whom M. Maissin sent? Who told you not to pay? Which of the Company's peons approached you?' He noted this on a piece of paper, and told me to write a peremptory letter. I then asked about the letter delivered by Morâri Râo's vakîl. He replied, 'Tell him to go home. His master is beyond the passes. So let him go, but write to him to continue our friendship and that other matters will be related by his vakîl.' He told me to write to this effect and give it, adding that I need not have mentioned this affair as I could have done it myself.

I hear that Sambu Dâs's gumastah and Guntûr Bâli Chetti are sending with M. Law, to be sold in Salabat Jang's camp the nine elephants belonging to the old Governor, M. le Marquis Dupleix, purchased from him by M. Delarche and M. du Bausset for 45,000 rupees. I also hear that the two elephants presented to M. Godeheu, the new Governor, by Nandi Râjâ and Chandâ Sâhib's son are to be sent along with these.

Friday, November 15.[1]—I remained at home as the rain was worse to-day than yesterday.

[1] *3rd Kârttigai, Bhava.*

I was told that the Governor wanted me. A peon went to fetch Madanânda Pandit. M. Godeheu was alone when we paid our respects. He gave me Nandi Râjâ's letter, which I interpreted, and as he wanted a French translation, I kept it with me. It says, 'When you discuss peace with the English, you should have the Dutch and Danes as mediators, before whom you may produce your parwânas from Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, Salabat Jang and Chandâ Sâhib, and the English theirs from Nâsîr Jang and Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân. In the presence of mediators peace may be quickly made. If they speak on behalf of Muhammad 'Alî Khân and you on ours, Muhammad 'Alî Khân cannot win the day, by reason of the grant he made me of the Trichinopoly fort and country. Till now I have not been informed of your negotiations ; pray observe this and do what may be necessary. If you treat with the English without mediators, the matter will not be settled for centuries. I write my opinion. As you are blessed with great wisdom, and you must have meditated long on this, pray inform me of your resolve.' When I had read this, he told me to get it translated into French. I have written only the outline so that it may be known.

I then gave M. Godeheu the translation of Morâri Râo's letter with the original Persian,

the Turaiyûr Reddi's letter and its French translation, the original and French translation of the letter from the sons of Ghulâm Rasûl Khân, the killedar of Sêkkidi, and the French translations of the replies to the killedar of Old Gingee and to Haidar Khân (Mudâmiah's nephew) and of the *tâkîd* to the Nayinâr of Ariyalûr. All the replies were sealed at the Governor's orders, who gave them to Madanânda Pandit to be delivered to those who had brought the letters. When the *tâkîd* for the Ariyalûr Nayinâr was given to the Governor, he told me to have it despatched myself, so I took it.

Sunday, November 17.[1]—When I was passing the Madras gate, I heard that Vinâyaka Pillai and Krishna Râo were on their way in a palankin to Potti Pathan Choultry, where M. Law, etc., were halting with their army on their way to Salabat Jang's camp at Hyderabad. Krishna Râo is accompanying M. Law to Hyderabad, and Vinâyaka Pillai will go with M. Law as far as Sadras by the Governor's orders. I also hear that Vinâyaka Pillai was asked to accompany M. Law to Hyderabad but replied that it was usual to send others as he had affairs to manage here ; he was again told angrily that others could do his business here

[1] *5th Kârttigai, Bhava.*

and that he must go ; thereupon M. Delarche told Vinâyaka Pillai to go as far as Sadras and return ; so Vinâyaka Pillai will do accordingly.

M. Godeheu went into his room, so I and M. Cornet took leave of him. The latter then said, 'You owe money to the Company over the coral and broad-cloth business.[1] When money had been sent out to distant places, there arose the English troubles, the despatch of troops to slay Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, the arrival of Nâsîr Jang six months later, his death, the death of Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and others, and that of Chandâ Sâhib, etc., at Trichinopoly, so that the balances could not be asked and collected. Owing to these troubles, the country has gone to ruin. Moneys due from several places have been lost. If you will state all this in a petition, you will be excused payment. Moreover M. Boyelleau has complaints against the former Governor ; and a new Governor will break the noses of all who complain in future. Show me your petition.' I agreed to do so, and taking leave, went to my office.

Saturday, November 23.[2]—I heard to-day it had been decided at yesterday morning's council that the Tamils should give up to Europeans who want them their houses east

[1] A long-standing debt, as will be seen.
[2] *11th Kârttigai, Bhava.*

of the canal and west of the liquor-godown at cost price, and that, in return, the Tamils would be given lands and gardens in Pavalapêttai ; a wall is to be built with three gates separating the Tamil from the European quarter. The town before was in a miserable state. Ever since the English troubles, that is, for the last ten years, there has been no trade. There have been famines. Men have been afflicted and full of cares. As astrologers have said, by the influence of Saturn men have suffered troubles. Pondichery is not what it formerly was, but is now decaying ; its inhabitants are afflicted. Moreover the lands in Pavalapêttai, Mîrâpalli, etc., have been acquired and given away. Thus the townspeople are indeed in great straits. M. Lenoir beautified the town by converting huts into houses of stone. The town, which stretched but a quarter of a mile before, became about two miles long. The town where the Goddess Lakshmi used to dance has been decaying these last three years, and this year the rains brought great losses. So men speak. As the council has decided to give all the Tamils' houses to the Europeans, and it has been proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that the houses which have fallen down shall not be rebuilt, the anxiety is indescribable. I write briefly what people are saying.

Monday, November 25.[1]—[On a separate sheet is written :—'The diary was commenced on 13th Kârttigai, Bhava, corresponding to Monday, November 25.' [2]]

Tuesday, November 26.[3]—When I was in the sorting-godown this morning, M. Miran who was writing in the *comptoir*, having learnt that I had come, called me in and asked me to sit down. He said, 'The rains and wind have done some damage in Negapatam, Vêdâranyam and other sea-ports to the southward. On the banks of the Gadilam near Fort St. David, Cuddalore and Manjakuppam, a new town sprang up during the French and English troubles,[4] and the rich built houses there to live in. The floods were so great that the inhabitants had to carry off their goods and escape to European and other houses on high ground. Some left their clothes, goods and money behind; others saved their valuables. Things were carried away by the floods and buried, or left on other men's ground. So there was much loss there. The floods were only half as great in Vandipâlaiyam, Tiruppâppuliyûr, Cuddalore, etc.; but still

[1] *13th Kârttigai, Bhava.*

[2] After this occur rough notes relating to the period December 4—7. These are printed as foot-notes under those dates. I think the compilation of the diary must have fallen into some confusion at this time, probably from delay in writing up the rough notes.

[3] *14th Kârttigai, Bhava.*

[4] The modern 'New Town.'

much damage was done. No lives were lost as the floods came by day. It was published by beat of tom-tom that all property carried away by the floods should be restored to the proper owners, under pain of punishment or fine. The French and English factories at Porto Novo have been washed away. There is thirty feet of water in the Dutch factory, so they are going to build a factory in the washing-place. Yesterday afternoon, M. Godeheu received a letter from our European at Porto Novo. He was talking to M. Dargy at table about building a factory on some other site; but they can't do it; the Dutch are best at trade and building purposes; the English may be half as good as the Dutch; but the French are incapable of trade or government or administration; they lose their temper too easily. But I said nothing, except that if they did build a factory, it would soon be closed again.'

We also talked about painting taffetas, and the continuance of rain. He observed, 'There is little to do in the Fort even in fine weather; and who will come in the rain? He will not want you. You had better go.' So, I took leave and went to my office.

Wednesday, November 27.[1]—After coffee this morning, the Governor took me into his

[1] *15th Kârttigai, Bhava.*

cabinet and gave me a Turaiyûr letter to be interpreted, as Madanânda Pandit was not present. I interpreted it and he told me to get it translated into French. I agreed and took leave. It says, 'After your coming, I sent a dress of honour and six letters by a vakîl. I have not received a reply to any of them. All the poligars under Trichinopoly are obeying Muhammad 'Alî Khân, who is in the Fort there. I alone trusted the French to keep their word, and thought myself safe under their protection. But Nandi Râjâ and your Frenchmen have taken three lakhs of rupees from me, thrice plundered my country, and then demanded more money as a nazar on your arrival as Governor. Although my country was ruined, I gave M. Maissin something by Paramânanda Pillai. I will pay the balance. When this is so, with the help of my people Nandi Râjâ proposes to collect forces and attack my country again. Write to Nandi Râjâ and M. Maissin not to interfere with me.' I sent for Mariadoss,[1] told him to get the letter translated into French and went to my office.

Thursday, November 28.[2]—This morning I went to the Governor and gave him the French translation and the originals of the Turaiyûr

[1] Probably Maridâs Pillai, who was later on very active in supplying French enquirers with information regarding Hindu antiquities and customs. See the *Revue Historique de l' Inde Française*, 1920.

[2] *16th Kârttigai, Bhava.*

letter given me yesterday for translation, as well as Nandi Râjâ's letter received on November 16, and ordered to be translated into French, but which I had kept with me owing to the rains. He took them and told me to have a reply written to the Turaiyûr Reddi in the following terms :—'I have instructed Nandi Râjâ and M. Maissin, the commander, not to meddle with you and you may be at peace.' I said I would bring it to-morrow morning, and explained that the coral merchants, whom he had ordered me yesterday to bring, were suffering from fever.

Friday, November 29.[1]—At three o'clock this afternoon one of the Governor's peons came for me. When I went, M. Godeheu's younger brother and M. Boyelleau said, 'We sent for you by the Governor's orders, as M. Guyonnet heard yesterday that M. Albert was detaining his wife and sons. As Ganjam is in Vijayarâma Râjâ's country, please write in M. Godeheu's name to Vijayarâma Râjâ that the two children should be delivered to the men who would bring a letter from M. Moracin at Masulipatam[2]. This is why we sent for

[1] *17th Kârttigai, Bhava.*

[2] The four Northern Circars had been ceded to Bussy at the end of 1753 : and he was at this very time engaged in settling them. Vijayarâma Râjâ had been allowed to rent the two circars of Rajahmundry and Chicacole, in the latter of which was Ganjam. But I can throw no further light on the incident. Albert may have been one of the vagrant Europeans in Vijayarâma Râjâ's service.

you.' I had the letter written accordingly in Persian by Madanânda Pandit. The Governor's younger brother got the seal from the Governor and had the letter sealed. Then I took leave. The Governor at first refused to give the seal; but when M. Boyelleau was told, he ordered the contents to be written out [in French] on paper. The Governor's younger brother then went again but returned without it as the Governor said that everything could be done to-morrow. The Governor was at last persuaded to give it as the Bunder messenger was about to set out. The seal was thus obtained after much trouble and returned again. In this trifling affair, the Governor did not trust even the Councillor. I know not what he would have done in an important matter.

DECEMBER 1754.

Tuesday, December 3.[1]—As a truce was made between the English and French for three months from October 11, in order to arrange a peace, most of the sepoys, guards and troopers, etc., who had been posted in the several pargannahs, were discharged. The rest have not been paid for a month or a month and a half; but there was none to question it. Five or six days ago they were summoned and told that their pay would be delivered when the rolls had been made up. I also hear that new enlistments have been ordered and the Pathans desired to send troops for their [camps]. I think that some difference must have arisen between the English and French about the peace-terms. It remains to be seen what happens.

Wednesday, December 4.[2]—This morning the Governor told me to interpret the letter

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[1] *21st Kârttigai, Bhava.*

[2] *22nd Kârttigai, Bhava.*

Below are printed rough notes of the diary which occur earlier. The Tamil is most obscure in parts. "On the morning of Wednesday, the 22nd, the Governor sent for M. Boyelleau and told him to pack in 3 bags 1,400 rupees for Srîrangam, 427 rupees and 6 fanams for Vriddhachalam and 248 rupees for Gingee, and have them despatched with letters. M. Boyelleau mentioned my jaghir to which the Governor replied; the Turaiyûr letter was sealed; Shaikh Ibrâhîm asked whether the sowcars who owned elephants at Porto Novo might carry them out that way, and a reply was given

At three o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, the 22nd, the Governor sent for me and told me to get the French letter for Nandi Râjâ translated into Telugu.

As you are treating for peace with the English, kindly [ ] about my jaghir [ ]."

sent by the Pathans who have landed elephants at Porto Novo. They desire the âmils to be ordered to collect only the usual customs on the route to Bhuvanagiri, etc., villages. The Governor told me to reply that the commander had been ordered to take only the usual customs, that the latter would give the necessary orders to the âmils, and that therefore the âmils could take away their elephants without trouble. It was written at once, sealed and given to head-peon.

M. Boyelleau afterwards sent for me and gave me three small bags of rupees saying, 'M. Godeheu told me to give you these to be sent to Srîrangam, Vriddhachalam and Gingee. The bag of 1,400 and odd rupees is for the sick at Srîrangam, the bag of 640 and odd for those at Vriddhachalam and that of 248, for Gingee.' After a short silence, M. Boyelleau said, 'Peace is now being discussed. Have you shown the Governor the parwâna for your own and your son Annâswâmi's jaghirs, and the killa and a mansab jaghir, which have been seized by the English?'[1] I replied, 'I thought it would have been mentioned in February of last year when M. Dupleix sent to Sadras Father Lavaur (the Superior of St. Paul's church), M. du Bausset,

[1] These lands seem to have been near Chingleput. Cf. Vol. VI, pp. 207-208 and 211; Vol. VII, p. 441.

M. Kerjean and other Europeans to discuss peace. Besides M. Godeheu has all the papers about it, so I thought it needless to say anything; and I might be asked how I had learnt of the secret proceedings with the English respecting my jaghir and killa or I might be told that the parwâna would be obtained when everything was settled. These were the reasons of my waiting.'—'You are wrong,' he answered; 'you must speak to him.'—'I will write it out in French and show it to you,' I said. 'Never mind that,' he replied, 'I will speak about it.' He then went up to M. Godeheu, when the latter came out of his room, and spoke with him. M. Boyelleau afterwards told me that the Governor understood the whole matter, that I should be asked to show the parwâna, and that M. Godeheu would settle the matter. M. Godeheu then went in again and M. Boyelleau departed.

At three o'clock this afternoon two peons came and said that the Governor wanted me. On my arrival, he came out of his room, and said, 'M. Boyelleau told you this morning to have three bags of rupees sent to Gingee, Srîrangam and Vriddhachalam. The letters you received were his, not mine; here are mine. Have them sent with the money to the three places. Did he give you a letter for

Nandi Râjâ ?' I said, 'No,' and reminded him that he had said that he would give it me to-morrow morning. 'I will give it you at once,' he said, and then, going in, had a letter written by his writer, M. Chevreau and gave it to me, telling me to write a letter to Nandi Râjâ. I took it and said I would do so. He then took me into his room and said, 'How can I be expected to know things unless you tell me ?' I replied, 'What have I failed to tell you that you have asked? On your arrival, you and M. Boyelleau told me I was afraid of M. Dupleix, but that my duty was to manage all affairs well as you had succeeded him. I agreed and wrote to Salabat Jang, Sau Bhâji Râo and other Deccan subahdars, to Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân at Delhi, to the Râjâs of Tanjore and Mysore and their vakîls, killedars, etc., and managed affairs here carefully. But afterwards in many matters I was not consulted, and, when I brought any affair to your notice, you spoke indifferently. I did not know your mind, and therefore have kept quiet. I have delayed nothing.'

Thursday, December 5.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning, I went to the Governor to tell him I had brought the Telugu translation of

[1] *23rd Kârttigai, Bhava.*
The rough notes say:—"On Thursday the 23rd Nandi Râjâ's letter was sealed and given to his vakîl."

the French reply written yesterday to Nandi Râjâ. He gave me his seal to seal the letter with. After the letter had been sealed, he told me to give it to the Mysore vakîl for despatch. Saying I would do so, I took and gave it to Madanânda Pandit for Venkatanâranappa Ayyan.[1]

Saturday, December 7.[2]—At three o'clock this afternoon, I went to the Governor, as a peon said he wanted me. The Governor's

[1] The rough notes give the following for Friday, for which day there is no transcript of the diary:—"On Fri[day] the 24th the Governor was let blood, so nobody visited him. I went to the Fort where I saw M. Miran, M. Cornet, etc., and then went to my office.

"When Vinâyaka Pillai was returning from Madras after despatching M. Law, M. Law plundered the English villages on his way and ravished women; hearing this news, the English sent 200 soldiers and 500 foot against M. Law; but the English troops had to return fruitlessly as M. Law and his army had already gone, but they [caught] Vinâyaka Pillai near the Tiruvattîswaran temple on his way to Pondichery. I hear that on learning this news, the Governor wrote to Madras at ten o'clock to-day. I heard of this the day before yesterday." Cf. *Madras Military Consultations*, 1754, pp. 264 and 267.

[2] *25th Kârttigai, Bhava.*

The rough notes say—"No one could go to the Governor on Saturday the 25th as he was unwell. I went to the Fort and thence to my office.

"He sent for me at three o'clock, and, giving me my letter from Nandi Râjâ, asked why there was one for me only. 'That is usual,' I said. He then asked me its contents. I said, 'An agreement was made to give two lakhs of rupees to M. Maissin for three months' expenses for which one lakh's worth of land was assigned on the banks of the Cauvery and the other lakh was assigned on [Turaiyûr]. But Paramânandan accepted some money from them and has spoiled the business, and now they say that the money need not be demanded but ask for a lakh of rupees in ready money.' When I read this, he told me to get it translated into French.

"He then took me aside and said, 'In a day or two, I will entrust all my affairs to you and follow your advice.' I replied suitably."

younger brother and Madanânda Pandit were there. Giving me Nandi Râjâ's letter, he asked to whom it was addressed. 'To me,' I replied, and he asked why there was no letter for him. I answered that it was usual to write to me with instructions to report the contents to him. 'Tell me its contents,' he said. I interpreted it as follows :—'M. Flacourt and your dubâshes here have prevented me from collecting money from the poligars, though I agreed to pay your expenses. Therefore I wish to depart. Râmalinga Pillai (Arumpâtai Pillai's man) Paramânandan and M. Flacourt have ventured to receive money from the poligar of Turaiyûr for settling the affair for one lakh of rupees instead of two as previously determined. I am being much troubled for an agreement not to interfere in the affair of that pâlaiyam. I have agreed. Thus the affairs of State are being ruined by these men's plundering and greed. You do not know this, and even when I write, you do not believe. Even after Paramânanda Pillai was seized and sent away for his ill behaviour, Râmalinga Pillai and M. Flacourt have continued to spoil all business. If others are appointed with proper orders in their place, I will continue ; otherwise I shall depart. Inform the Governor of this.'

When I reported these contents, he told me to get the letter translated into French, and, having dismissed Madanânda Pandit, he took me into a room and said, 'I am going to ask you about a certain affair. You must tell me the truth.' I said I would. He continued, 'Have not the former Governors here made money? I also want to make money, but by fair means. None but you can get money for me. When M. Lenoir was Governor, he satisfied the merchants and people and sought the Company's profit, and himself gained much. All this is well-known in Europe. M. Dumas made money somehow. But after my arrival, I learnt that M. Dupleix' injustice was notorious. Certainly I do not want to make money as he did; but help me to get money like M. Lenoir and M. Dumas.' He added much more. I replied, 'M. Lenoir was freely offered presents by the merchants and people on his name-day, New Year's day, etc. The Company's merchants would offer him presents to have their contracts settled easily, but he sternly refused to receive them. They would then offer small presents and even these he would sometimes refuse. But he never received bribes. In the Mocha trade, he made large profits, but he did not get much in other ways. M. Dumas made money both by trade and by other means; and you know

how M. Dupleix got his wealth.' He replied, 'Trade is not flourishing at present, so I cannot make money like M. Lenoir. I must try to get money like M. Dumas.' I answered, 'You know the whole state of the trade. As for the country affairs, they must be managed carefully. When you seized Pâpayya Pillai, you did not keep the country accounts and leases under your own control, but managed affairs by M. Delarche and Ranga Pillai (M. Dupleix' writer) who could not manage affairs successfully. When Pâpayya Pillai was imprisoned, all were alarmed and offered to arrange for 6 lakhs of rupees; but no advantage was taken of this, so the amount was lost. Moreover in collecting rents and revenues from the country, everybody made money, and thus no money came in. There are two kinds of *sibbandis*, *purana*[1] *sibbandi*, and *kumak*[2] *sibbandi*; for the latter people were allowed by you an eighth or a quarter of what was collected. Thus the Company's business was spoiled in all kinds of ways. But you do not make money like M. Dupleix, and in your time, neither the Company nor you have gained, though others have eaten.'—'Who can be blamed for the past?' he asked. 'Henceforward, I will do as you say. The

[1] Literally, 'old.' [2] Literally, 'help.'

Company's business must proceed, but at the same time, I must make something by proper means. Consider and tell me what I should do.'—'I will,' I said.

When we were talking thus, M. Clouët, the Secretary who accompanied him, entered. So he said, 'Come to-morrow when I shall be at leisure.' So I took leave and went to the sorting-godown. As it was cloudy, I went to my office and then came home.

Thursday, December 12.[1]—This morning, the Governor after dressing, inspected the Fort gates, etc., where the European guards are posted and returned to the Fort. I salaamed. He acknowledged it and went upstairs to take coffee with the Europeans.

When he had dismissed them, he took me into his room and said, 'I and Mr. Saunders will return to Europe in February as peace cannot be concluded here between the English and the French. When M. Dumas and M. Lenoir were Governors, they made money before returning to Europe. I want to make something too before I go. I am told that M. Dumas forced people to give him something when he departed for Europe. Is that true?' I replied, 'It is true that he made money and returned, but not that he asked people to give

[1] *1st Mârgali, Bhava.*

him money. When the Marathas under Raghôji Bhônsla and Fatteh Singh cut off Dôst 'Alî Khân in 1740, the Arcot people took refuge here owing to the troubles; upwards of 10,000 pagodas were collected for their support from the nobles who belonged to the subahdar and others outside; but many of those who had come in had departed. I do not know if the amounts were entered in the Company's or in his own accounts. [It is not possible] now to get money like that. For the last ten years there have been the English troubles; till now trade has been bad, seasons poor, and people have been living on what they have saved, or have run into debt, and have kept at home. Ten or a dozen live meanly; the rest would have nothing to live on, but for the country revenues and the sepoys. If these means failed, you would see the state of affairs. The town flourished under M. Lenoir; but now the people have departed; the houses are falling into ruins; when you drive out, you can see nothing but mud walls.' He replied, 'I must get something; you must find some way.' I replied, 'For the last three years, the country business, and that of the merchants and the mint-people were not managed through me by M. Dupleix, but through his wife. So I cannot arrange matters as I like. If affairs are managed

through me, the Company's dubâsh, as in the time of M. Martin, I will help you without creating complaints and settle everything in two months.'—'Very well,' he replied, 'we will talk about it when you come to-morrow.'

M. Clouët then brought a letter of which he wished to speak to the Governor, so I took leave, went to the sorting-godown and thence came home. As he has to settle affairs in Europe with Mr. Saunders, he wants to make as much money as possible by fair means. We shall see what happens to-morrow.

Wednesday, *December 18.*[1]—At six o'clock this morning, M. Godeheu, his younger brother M. Clouët, M. Delarche, M. Sornay and other Europeans drove out to inspect the French army encamped near Pirambai; they then inspected the Valudâvûr fort that has been destroyed, and directed M. Delarche and M. Sornay to rebuild the fort. After taking food, they went to Tiruvêngadapuram at half-past seven in the evening, where they conferred with M. du Bausset, M. Guillard, etc., who had been there [for the last] 13 days. [They] took dinner there, and returned.

Saturday, *December 21.*[2]—I hear that Razâ Sâhib, 'Alî Naqî Bêg and Gowhar Bâbâ

[1] *7th Mârgali, Bhava.* [2] *10th Mârgali, Bhava.*

Khuddus Bêg have been visiting M. Delarche about raising some money.

This morning Mysore Venkatanâranappa Ayyan accompanied me to M. Godeheu General Avargal. We went upstairs at half-past eight. He was taking coffee. When he had dismissed an Englishman who came here to see him on his way from Fort. St. David to Madras [1], he asked me what news there was. I gave him the Telugu translation of the French draft he had written to Nandi Râjâ the evening of the day before yesterday, and said that it could be sealed. I also gave him the French translation he had ordered of the Persian letter received from Nandi Râjâ on the 14th, together with the râzinâma[2] given by the Marakkâyars[3] of Porto Novo for the land given north of Porto Novo for a factory in the place of the one washed away, and its French translation. The Governor then turned to Venkatanâranappa Ayyan and asked whether the account written by Mr. Saunders, the Governor-General of Madras, about Nandi Râjâ's occupation of Tinnevelly were correct. Venkatanâranappa Ayyan replied, 'The Tinnevelly country was conquered in February or March

[1] I suppose Palk or Vansittart, who were arranging the terms of the Provisional Treaty. See *Military Consultations*, 1754, p. 277.

[2] Confirmation of an agreement.

[3] Tamil-speaking Mussalmans. See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. V, p. 1.

1751, and we have held it for the last three years and ten months. If they can prove that we took it during the truce, we will bear any punishment you please to impose."[1] M. Godeheu replied, 'Well, it matters not what they write. I have now written to M. Maissin to enquire into it fully and I have written also to your Nandi Râjâ. I shall give it sealed. You had better also write and get a reply.'

He then asked Venkatanâranappa Ayyan if bales of cloth had really been stopped and the Madura fort attacked. The other replied, 'If Madura fort were in Muhammad 'Alî Khân's possession and we attacked it, we should be responsible; but when we and Muhammad 'Alî Khân were one, 'Alam Khân, a Pathan of Chandâ Sâhib's seized it; after Chandâ Sâhib's death, Muhammad 'Alî Khân

[1] This account differs materially from those with which I am acquainted elsewhere. For example, Dr. Wilson writes (*Orme MSS.-Various*, XV, p. 33) :—"Soon after the Nabob marched from Trichinopoly [*i.e.*, July, 1752], the Maisour General sent a party to take possession of Madura; which was taken from him again about the beginning of December by the Maravans; who, though in friendship with us, are like to keep it for themselves until we are in a better capacity to call them to an account." On October 29, 1754, Heron wrote :—"I am told by the Nabob that he has received accounts that Coke Saib with some of the Mysore horse and Seapoys are endeavouring to raise disturbances in the Madura country, that some of their straggling horse have plundered Tinnevelly, which has been in his [*i.e.*, the Nawab's] possession some time past." *Military Consultations*, 1754, p. 258. The Mysoreans may have taken the country before the truce, and also been dispossessed before that event. Earlier in 1754 they were asking English help to obtain possession of these districts.

and the English attacked it but retired without success.[1] Then M. Dupleix wrote saying that help should be given lest 'Alam Khân's enemies should capture the place. His letter had no effect, and a body of Pathans captured it. From that time, the country was held neither by Muhammad 'Alî Khân nor by the English nor by the French, but by him.[2] Before the truce was made, we sent troops who seized some of the country, and besieged the fort. But for these three months, we have not fought at all. Taking advantage of this, Muhammad 'Alî Khân, with other enemies and the Pathans, treacherously attacked our army, at a time when no attack should have been made on Tinnevelly fort, slew our chief sardârs and a few of our men, and captured the fort. This has already been written to you, and the French translation also contains it. If you enquire narrowly whether it was captured now or before, you will learn whether the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's words are true or ours. If our words are false, we will submit to any punishment.' He said yet more, adding, 'The English and Muhammad

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[1] This must refer to Cope's attack in 1750, before Chandâ Sâhib's death. I do not think the English participated in any attempt on the Southern Countries between that and Heron's expedition in 1755. But the Nawâb alleged that the Pathan leaders—mentioned below—had acknowledged him. See *Orme*, Vol. I, p. 399.

[2] *i.e.*, one of the Pathan leaders.

'Alî Khân can never be trusted. They only write to deceive you.'—'I know all this,' M. Godeheu replied, 'and have written to M. Maissin to ascertain and inform me what happened about the Tinnevelly country, the Madura fort, etc., from beginning to end. I have also written about it to your Râjâ. But why has any one written to Mr. Saunders that bales of cloth have been stopped?"[1] He replied, 'I cannot tell. I must write before I say anything about it. It must certainly have happened before these last three months; yet, I cannot say without making enquiries.' Here [the Governor] went into his cabinet, and said, 'You seem to trust Muhammad 'Alî Khân, although you were betrayed into your present difficulties when you trusted him before. I hear that discussions are going on between your Râjâ and Muhammad 'Alî Khân.[2] If you do this, believe me, you will certainly fall into the well.' Mysore Venkatanâranappa Ayyan said, 'His proposals and the replies of those in the fort[3] were at once communicated to you; and the matter was decided by your advice. Nothing has been done without consulting you. The Râjâ considers you as second only to God.'

[1] Possibly cloth coming from Salem. The French Correspondence for 1754 is wanting, so the reference to Saunders' letter cannot be checked.

[2] See above, p. 118, n. 1.

[3] *Sc.* of Trichinopoly.

The Governor replied that this was mere talk which had not been proved by action. 'How have we behaved?' he asked. [The Governor] replied, 'It is five months since my arrival. What have you given me except words? I will presently examine the accounts of M. Dupleix' time. In spite of repeated demands for the monthly expenses of the army, you have done nothing; you promise anything, but there is no result.' When M. Godeheu spoke thus at great length, Venkatanâranappa Ayyan said, 'If you will only say what monthly sum must be paid, I will have it paid every month from to-day.' M. Godeheu asked him if M. Dupleix had not given a statement of what was to be paid every month. The vakîl replied, 'I do not know what writing he may have given you; but by the agreement between us and him, no definite payment was fixed. The soldiers and sepoys sent to us were to be counted and paid what was due. Since then they have not been counted, nor has a balance been struck. That may be considered when the accounts are settled.' The Governor replied, 'I will do nothing in your affair unless you pay on the spot. If you do, I will protect you from every wind and act as you desire. If you do not, I will recall my troops, and this will cause troubles in your country and fort. I have said nothing of this in my letter; you

must write without fail.' He spoke thus in much detail, sealed his letter to Nandi Râjâ, and dismissed him. The vakîl said that he would write and get a reply, and, having asked me to write a letter as usual and send Dammâ Pandit, departed after speaking about other affairs. The Governor went to church on account of the festival and I went to my office.

Thursday, December 26.[1]—The Governor sent for me at six o'clock last evening, but I sent word by his messenger that I was ill. Thereupon he sent a message by Ella Pillai that presents had come from Bâlâji Râo (Bhâji Râo's son) which must be received this morning, and that therefore music, nautch-people and [lancers], must be prepared. Ella Pillai said that he had given orders to the Nayinâr, and added that I was to be present at six o'clock.

Before going to the Governor this morning, I looked at the French writing, among my papers, about the ceremonies used the last time that presents came from Bhâji Râo's son in the time of M. Dupleix. On that occasion, M. Delarche, M. Albert and I went with music, dancing-people, the naubat, standard-bearers and [cloths] to the Sâram tank, where the

[1] *15th Mârgali, Bhava.*

presents were kept; they were brought to the Governor; Sâmâ Râo the vakîl also came; and when the Governor received the presents, a salute of 15 guns was fired; the vakîl was asked to sit down while inquiries were made regarding the Râjâ's welfare; and was sent to his lodgings with orders to be supplied with provisions; and when he was sent back, he was given cloth, etc. I gave [the Governor] this French writing, and explained matters. He took it and said, 'I will do the same as before.' So I went with M. Itta and M. Romain, with my palankin, standards, lancers, horns, drums, head-peons, chobdars, the Nayinâr and the standards, etc., of Muzaffar Khân's son[1] who has been brought up by Hasan-ud-dîn Khân. The presents were in a tent pitched near the tulip-tree by the Madras gate. They are :—A dress of honour, four jewels and a sword for the Governor; and a dress of honour, four jewels and a [? dagger] for the Governor's younger brother. These were carried in a palankin to the Fort with every mark of honour, and there presented to the Governor and his younger brother. Dilâwar Khân, Muzaffar Khân's man, who came with the presents, visited the Governor. A salute of 15 guns was fired.

[1] Muzaffar Khân, *i.e.*, Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân, had been granted, or had assumed, the Fish Standard.

Madanânda Pandit opened Bâlâji Râo's Persian letter and read it to M. Delarche who interpreted it to the Governor as follows :—'I have heard that M. Dupleix has gone home and that you have taken his place. Let our friendship continue as in the time of M. Dupleix. Moreover let Muzaffar Khân and Hasan-ud-dîn Khân retain their jaghirs with the Fish standard, covered palankin and other honours. It is proposed to give the daughter of Mu'in-ud-dîn khân, killedar of Surat, in marriage to Haidar 'Alî Khân, Muzaffar Khân's nephew, and arrangements are being made for it. Let Muzaffar Khân's wife and children therefore be sent.' When this had been interpreted, the Governor said that he would do as he was desired.

The Governor also told M. Delarche that he would continue the jaghir and other marks of honour. The latter said to Bâqir Miyân, who has been brought up by Hasan-ud-dîn Khân, 'The Governor has granted you the jaghir and other marks of respect according to the letter. Thank him.' He did accordingly.

Then Madanânda Pandit read Muzaffar Khân's Persian letter to M. Delarche who interpreted it as follows :—'M. Bussy and Rûmi Khân told many falsehoods to Salabat Jang and unjustly carried away 5 [lakhs'

worth] of property,[1] though they themselves have made 30 or 40 lakhs in many ways. Rûmi Khân has made ten or twelve lakhs. Let my children be sent for Haidar 'Alî Khân's marriage. The rest will be learnt from my statement.' M. Delarche added that Muzaffar Khân had informed Bâlâji Râo of the Governor's arrival, fired salutes and distributed sugar.

Muzaffar Khân's French letter to the Governor, which was then read, was as follows:—'Since I left Mahé, I fought for the Company at Madras, then against the English who attacked Pondichery, thirdly against Anwar-ud-dîn Khân in support of Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and Chandâ Sâhib; and fourthly I marched against Tanjore. After that I followed Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân when he attacked the poligars of Cuddapah and Kandanûr, and even marched to Aurangabad. Let inquiries be made about M. Bussy's debt to me and let the amount be recovered for me.' As the letter did not mention the sending of Muzaffar Khân's children and the grant of his [jaghir], etc., the Governor did not believe what M. Delarche had reported, and abruptly

[1] Presumably belonging to Muzaffar Khân. It was perhaps seized when Muzaffar Khân suddenly deserted Salabat Jang's for Bâlâji Râo's service. Rûmi Khân was Bussy's dîwân, who was killed in 1756.

said that Muzaffar Khân's children would not be sent as his letter said nothing about them. Moreover in the presence of Muzaffar Khân's son (adopted son of Hasan-ud-dîn Khân) who was sitting opposite, when his message was spoken of, the Governor frowned and said that his marriage could be celebrated here and that there was no need to send him to Surat. I think he was angry at his present being worth but 50 rupees, and his brother's but 40; while Muzaffar Khân's present to Hasan-ud-dîn Khân's son consisted of bright and precious jewels from Burhanpur and a sword, and were delivered to the Governor before they were received and worn, so that he perceived they were more costly than his. Their own dresses of honour were worth but 100 rupees each, but [the young Muhammadan's] was worth 600. I do not think he will help Muzaffar Khân's business in future.

Moreover Dilâwar Khân who escorted the presents, told M. Delarche in Hindustani that, if he were sent as the Governor's vakîl to Bâlâji Râo, he would do whatever he wished. As M. Delarche does not know Hindustani but only Persian, he told the Governor that our vakîl wished to remain with Bâlâji Râo and Bâlâji Râo's vakîl to remain here. The Governor shook his head but said nothing.

The Governor then gave me the letters to be translated into French and returned to him. He also gave me Bâlâji Râo's letter to Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son) for delivery. M. Delarche then said to me, 'Muzaffar Khân's people have Bâlâji Râo's presents for Razâ Sâhib. Let them be placed, Senhor Ranga Pillai, in a palankin and taken to him, with all marks of honour, and conduct Hasan-ud-dîn Khân's son to him. So you shall attain greatness.' In spite of his compliments, I wanted to ask the Governor before doing so unusual a thing, but as M. Delarche had said it was the Governor's order, I feared the former would be angry. Therefore I said nothing, for fear of needlessly incurring his anger, and, going downstairs, proceeded to the sorting-godown, and M. Delarche went to his *comptoir*.

Madanânda Pandit followed me; and I said, 'You know it is not usual to take out the flag and palankin like this. Ask M. Delarche plainly about it.' He replied, 'I know all this has already been settled by the Governor, so it is useless to ask further.'—'Are we sure of that?' I asked. 'We should be on the safe side if we ascertained.' As we were talking thus, M. Delarche, who had got into his coach to drive away, stopped it, called me and said, 'Senhor Ranga Pillai, the Governor has ordered you to take the palankin, flag,

etc. So you must do this.'—'Shall I ask the Governor about it?' I asked.—'You need not,' he replied, 'I have already obtained his orders about it.'—'If you say so, it shall be done,' I answered; and putting the dress of honour worth 60 rupees and the letter for Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son) in a palankin, I took them to Chandâ Sâhib's house with all marks of honour.

I heard to-day that Nandi Râjâ had sent M. Delarche a shield with its handle set with emeralds, a cross-hilted dagger encrusted with emeralds and rubies, a pearl necklace, a tobacco-pipe set with small emeralds and rubies, with other costly jewels and a dress of honour, with a request to help him in his affairs. Mysore Venkatanâranappa Ayyan only told me about the dress of honour, but Madanânda Pandit said a pendant and a dress of honour. I have thus heard three stories, but I think that the first is true. We shall see in two or three days.

Sunday, December 29.[1]—All the councillors but M. Barthélemy, the officers, etc., were with the Governor when I went to him this morning. I gave him the French translations of Nandi Râjâ's letter received on the 23rd together with Imâm Sâhib's niece's letter from

[1] *18th Mârgali, Bhava.*

Valudâvûr, and the Turaiyûr poligar's letter received at one o'clock yesterday. Having read them, he gave them to M. Chevreau his under secretary, and put the originals into his *avashi.*[1]

As it was nine o'clock he went to church to hear mass and after returning, ordered rice, coconuts, plantains, bread, etc., to be brought, and watched for an hour the feeding of the single-tusked elephant given by Nandi Râjâ and that given by Razâ Sâhib. He also watched them picking up rupees and giving them to the driver. Afterwards, as he was going upstairs M. Dusaussaye showed him some letters. When he had gone upstairs, M. Delarche reported the death of Hirâsat Khân of Sâtghar and told him that a letter of condolence should be written. As Hirâsat Khân married Razâ Sâhib's sister, the following gentlemen, M. du Bausset, M. Dusaussaye and himself were to visit and condole with Razâ Sâhib. Hirâsat Khân had no sons, but four daughters. His son by a slave-girl is but young, and he has no brothers, so Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore hoped to seize Sâtghar when Hirâsat Khân was ill. A letter was also to be written to Mr. Saunders, Governor of Madras, to order 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân, the subahdar of

[1] Unidentified.

Arcot, not to attack Sâtghar or do any harm.[1] Thus M. Delarche obtained orders for letters to be written and had them despatched. I learnt all this and then went to my office.

At four o'clock this afternoon the Governor sent for me. I went ; and Madanânda Pandit was also present. Four letters had come from Nandi Râjâ, two for him and two for me. Giving me my letters, the Governor told me to report the contents of his. One of them says :—'I am highly pleased with your kind letter desiring me to remain in peace at Srîrangam, promising to send many soldiers, munitions of war, shot, etc., and to see that my affairs prosper, but desiring me to pay what I owe you so that it may be used for your needs. This sincere and loving letter has dispelled all my anxiety, and has rejoiced me more than if I had been given the dominion of the world.' The second letter says :—'I will pay every month the cost of the large army and supplies you promise to send. Moreover I will pay the former dues according to the accounts. Let troops and munitions be sent without delay. The English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân are full of deceit. You should destroy them by any means you can. The former Governors

[1] The English agreed. Letter from Saunders to Godeheu, January 9, 1755. *French Correspondence*, 1755, No. 2.

were appointed by the Company; but you were the King's minister[1] before you were appointed Governor here and have come to settle affairs and achieve victory. Therefore success will always attend you, and my affairs also will prosper. I have written to our vakîl Venkatanâranappa Ayyan about other matters of which he will inform you.' When I reported the contents, he replied, 'He only gives promises and many words. These five months ever since I came here, I have got nothing.' Thus he spoke at length, and I replied. He told me to get the letters translated into French.

He then said, 'The Second and the other Councillors do whatever they please. I do not like this, for I do not hear what is going on. Henceforth nothing should be done without my orders.' He spoke emphatically and at length. I replied, 'You were [new] but now, have learnt the customs here; so everything will now be done under your orders.' I then went to my office.

Later I went to Chandâ Sâhib's house to condole with him about Hirâsat Khân's death, and came home. On my way, I met M. Delarche, M. du Bausset and M. [Dusaussaye] returning from their visit.

[1] Godeheu had been a Director of the Company but never, I think, in the King's employment.

Tuesday, December 31.[1]—The Europeans are saying that, according to the agreement for a truce for three months from October to December, M. Clouët is carrying a letter to say that there shall be no war for 18 months from January, until we receive orders from Europe about it ; he will arrive in four days with an agreement to this effect. So there will be no war.[2]

The Bishop of Mylapore says that Bhâji Râo is coming.

[1] *20th Mârgali, Bhava.*

[2] Clouët and Tobin carried to Madras the French copy of the Treaty signed by Godeheu. See *Military Consultations*, 1754, p. 289.

JANUARY 1755.

Thursday, January 2.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning. He said, 'According to the writing about the office of dubâsh, I will order all but the Europeans, namely, Tamils, Muhammadans and all Indians, to obey you as their master; and report the news to you. Attend therefore to the Company's business faithfully and behave so as to bring gain and glory to the Company which has suffered greatly.' I replied, 'With the Governor's favour, I will work for the Company's gain as you desire. My actions shall satisfy you. What more can I say to your command to act faithfully?' He smiled.

He then ordered me to come at eleven o'clock with the headmen and the Company's servants; so I went to my office and sent peons for the several people.

The Governor gave M. Boyelleau an order on M. Miran for a *sarpêch*, *kalgi turra* and jewels set with precious stones, two pieces of fine broad-cloth and two pieces of cloth of gold woven in silk, to be given as presents to me. He then called the master-gunner and told him to fire a salute of 15 guns.

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[1] *22nd Mârgali, Bhava.*

At eleven o'clock I went to the Fort with the headmen and the Company's servants and presented them to the Governor with their New Year's gifts according to custom. This done, he summoned the Company's servants—the Arumpâtai (Vinâyaka Pillai),[1] Râmachandra Ayyan of the Beach, the mint-people, the tobacco-godown people, the manager of Bâpu Râo's choultry, the people living outside the Fort, Rangappa Mudali, the amaldâr of the Country, the Company's merchants, the Nayinâr and other headmen—and said, 'Henceforth you need not report news to me, but go to Ranga Pillai and do as he orders. Whoever does not, will be fined or otherwise punished.' Having given this order, he gave me the presents mentioned above, with rosewater and *pân supârî*. Then a salute of 15 guns was fired from the Fort. The Governor told me to visit the councillors and show them the presents before going home. I thanked him, and, according to his orders, visited the Second and other councillors with music, dancers and actors and accompanied by the Company's servants and headmen, and paid my respects. They were highly pleased and congratulated me, giving me rosewater and *pân supârî* before dismissing me. M. Delarche alone sent word that he was

[1] See Vol. IV, p. 341, n., *supra*.

busy and would see me to-morrow or the day after, so I did not visit him. Then I came home with the same marks of honour and all visited me with presents. I distributed rose-water and *pân supârî* and dismissed them.

Sunday, January 5.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning and thence to the room up-stairs where were Monsieur Charles Robert Godeheu, the Governor and Commander-in-chief, the Commissary M. Barthélemy, M. Guillard and others of Council, together with M. Clouët. I paid my respects. Then they all held a Council in the Governor's room except M. Clouët, who walked up and down outside. Afterwards the Governor and the rest went to the Church where the Europeans were drawn up with drums beating and with a new white flag, a red and white flag, and a white and blue flag, four[2] in all. The Governor and Council bore these flags into the Church, where they heard mass and the flags were blessed, all praying that God might bless and prosper them by reason of the two years' peace concluded between the English and French, who are no longer to strive one with the other, but to unite if the Marathas and Muhammadans should attack from the north. After offering

[1] *25th Mârgali, Bhava.* [2] *Sic.*

devout prayers, for God's protection, they came out, and a proclamation written on large paper was read aloud as follows :—'Until news arrives of a settlement between the English and French in Europe, no one shall take up arms for 18 months. We and the English are to join against other enemies.' All then wished the King of France long life and a salute of 21 guns was fired. Then the Governor, the Bishop of Cochin-China and the Councillors, after witnessing the service at the Church, went upstairs, and all paid their respects to the Bishop. When they were about to take coffee, I went with the Company's merchants. When the Governor came out to us, we paid our respects. He exchanged compliments cheerfully and said, 'We have made peace for 18 months, so all may live in quiet. Merchants, inhabitants, travellers and everyone need fear nothing.' I then replied, 'After your arrival all disturbances ceased ; and we shall have peace for 18 months, without any troubles, so that men may live happily. But during the late troubles, many lost their wealth, and many have perished. As you have thus restored happiness to us, you have earned everlasting glory both in India and Europe. We thus paid our compliments.

Perumukkal Miyân Sâhib's letter to the Governor says :—'I depend on your friendship.

The English have seized some of your jaghirs, and Muhammad 'Alî Khân others. Some of my jaghirs have also been taken. Only a little is left. M. Sornay damages my saltpans in the middle of the river, by causing nets to be spread. Let me be protected from his troubles.' He told me to come at six o'clock with a French translation, and added that as he was our friend, we should assist him in his troubles. I took leave and went to my office.

Monday, January 6.[1]—As Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, the Mysore vakîl, was waiting with the two letters from Nandi Râjâ, I went upstairs with him. The Governor, M. Barthélemy, M. Boyelleau, the Governor's younger brother, M. Clouët, etc., were sauntering about the southern hall. The vakîl paid his respects and delivered the two letters. The Governor asked him if I had told him yesterday's news about the conclusion of peace. 'Yes, sir,' he replied ; and the Governor said to him, 'Ever since I came here five or six months ago, I have been waiting, but you have offered for my satisfaction nothing better than vain boasts. How long am I to wait ? I must replenish my money-chest while I am drawing out of it. We and the English have concluded peace for 18 months.'

[1] *26th Mârgali, Bhava.*

Monday, January 13.[1]—I hear to-day that Sau Bhâji Râo is at Adoni five stages this side of the Kistna on his march towards the Carnatic, and that letters have come saying that he will visit Kumbakonam for the *Mahâmakham.*[2] I also hear that Salabat Jang is pursuing him to prevent his entering the Carnatic; but all will happen according to God's will.[3]

Tuesday, January 14.[4]—A chobdar came this morning and said that the Governor wanted me. When I went, he gave me Veligôtti Bangâru Yâchama Nâyakkan's letter of congratulations. I informed him that the letter congratulated him on his appointment as Governor, with the following presents:—One *muhamudi*[5]; one sash; one "Mokashy" turban; one *sarpêch*; one *kattani*[6]; two muslin upper cloths; [besides] seven jewels.

He then gave me two letters from the Râjâ of Pegu and his minister, telling me to interpret them. The first says, 'I am highly pleased with your letter and presents sent by M. Bruno. I am sending by him what you

[1] *4th Tai, Bhava.*
[2] A festival recurring once in twelve years at Kumbakonam, where special rites in honour of Siva are performed.
[3] See *Orme*, Vol. I, p. 404.
[4] *5th Tai, Bhava.*
[5] See p. 3 *supra*.
[6] A cloth of mixed silk and cotton.

wish and an elephant as a present.' I thus reported the contents of the Râjâ's letter ; the minister's says that three elephants have been sent. The Governor observed, 'M. Bruno's letter does not mention the elephants. Why is that ? Well, bring a French translation of them.' Then I took leave, and after attending the *Sîmantham Kalyânam*[1] at Uppittu Sâmbayyan's house, came home.

Nârô Pandit, Muhammad 'Alî Khân's vakîl, and a dubâsh (I do not know his name) write from Trichinopoly that after conferring with M. Maissin at Srîrangam, they went to Nandi Râjâ and discussed the money agreement, but that he would not accept it, and more than once objected to the faithless conduct towards him of Muhammad 'Alî Khân and of the English.

Thursday, January 16.[2]—A Company's peon came and told me at seven o'clock this morning that the Governor wanted me. As I must go whenever the Governor calls me, I took my prescribed food[3] and went at eight o'clock to the Fort, where I visited the Governor. He said, 'Our man, Hirâsat Khân, has died. I have written to Vellore Murtazâ 'Alî Khân

[1] The ceremony performed in the fourth, sixth or eighth month of a woman's first pregnancy.

[2] *7th Tai, Bhava.*

[3] The Tamil word indicates that he was on a diet.

to help whoever succeeds Hirâsat Khân. You must also write suitably about it.' I said I would.

I added that I had received complaints saying that Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân[1] of Elavânasûr fort was troubling my villages. He told me to write a French letter in his name as follows :—' The former Governor did not treat you properly, but have I done the like? You wrote to me that if I sent a cowle, you would visit and obey me. But I hear that you are troubling my country. It is not right to do so, for I have concluded a peace with the English for eighteen months. If you behave properly, well and good ; if not, I will send all my troops and inflict proper punishment upon you.' He also told me to write severely in my own name.

Mu'tabar Khân, son of Husain Sâhib of Vâlikondâpuram, has written to the Governor saying, ' You wish me to send into Srîrangam the shot, powder, etc., seized and kept here during M. d'Auteuil's battle with the English at Vâlikondâpuram.[2] M. d'Auteuil gave the English a list of the goods which have all been removed by them, so that nothing remains here.' When I had reported the contents, the

[1] See above p. 41. [2] In 1752.

Governor told me to get the letter translated into French.

I then gave him the French translations of the letter from the Râjâ of Pegu, his minister, and Bangâru Yâchama Nâyakkan—3 in all—which he received, as well as a copy of the French letter to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore, which I also gave him. After this I took leave and came home.

A Persian letter has been written to Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân of Elavânasûr and a French copy prepared. I have also sent for a French translation of Vâlikondâpuram Mu'tabar Khân's letter. M. Véry[1] writes to me, 'When I stood surety for Ayyan Sâstri and obtained some country for him, the country was under your control; and I asked you to continue it to him. You said that you would do him this favour instead of giving it to others. But I now learn that you have given it to a different man. Is it right to do so?'

I replied to M. Véry as follows:—'I questioned Ayyan Sâstri as I promised, but he would not accept my terms and said that it might be given to whomsoever I pleased. He wrote and signed an agreement to this effect

[1] Véry de St. Romain, for whom see above Vol. VIII, p. 184, n. 2. Later in this year, when he was Commandant of Utramallûr, Ranga Pillai was to have some trouble with him over a farmer of revenue for whom Véry stood surety (for a consideration).

four days ago. This was not done without waiting for four days, speaking with him about it, and obtaining his assent.' I had this letter despatched to M. Véry.

Sunday, January 19.[1]—M. Boyelleau and the Governor's son talked for a while and then went to church. As I was going downstairs, I met M. Duliron,[2] the killedar of Âlambarai, who said, 'The Governor was asking me about the English having occupied the Karunguli country. Do you know anything about it?' I went with him to M. Dulaurens' son's[3] office, and got the latter to write a statement as follows :—'50 horse, 50 sepoys and 50 Carnatic peons belonging to the English encamped at Kandrachêri and seized 8 villages under Kiliyânagar, 12 villages under Murungampâkkam, 15 villages under Perukkâranai, 15 villages under Koyapâkkam—50 villages in all. They also say that they mean to seize Achcharapâkkam, Chunâmpattu, Cheyyûr, Kolattûr, etc., places. I have received news to this effect. If this is done, all the forts except Âlambarai will fall into their possession.'[4] He wrote this statement

[1] *10th Tai, Bhava.*

[2] Sous-lieutenant of 1751, promoted lieutenant 1752.

[3] Jacques Baleine Dulaurens had died in 1749, leaving two sons in the Company's service at Pondichery.

[4] This matter constituted the chief subject of discussion between the French and English commissaries who held lengthy and fruitless discussions in 1755 and 1756. *Military Sundry Books*, Nos. 4 and 5.

and gave it to the Governor, who told me that he would write about it to the Governor of Madras. Nattu Vîrâma also said that he would obtain from M. Godeheu two or three letters to be sent. He then took leave and departed.

Monday, January 20.[1]—The Governor sent word this afternoon by the captain of the guard that he wished to sell the elephants and horse given to him by Nandi Râjâ, and the elephant and horse presented by Razâ Sâhib, as well as the horses given by others. I agreed.

Friday, January [24].[2]—This morning, the Governor sent orders to the European Commanders of the killas of Utramallûr, Âlambarai, Gingee, Vriddhachalam, Tiruviti, etc., that henceforth they should not interfere with country leased to me, that they should get what they required from my amaldârs, and that they should keep their soldiers and sepoys in proper order. I then reported that the English had occupied the Karunguli country and he replied, 'You need not be anxious about that. I have written to the Governor of Madras; if they give it up, well and good; if not, I will send soldiers, and

[1] *11th Tai, Bhava.* [2] *15th Tai, Bhava.*

post them at our limits to seize their country.' I then took leave and came home.

Saturday, January 25.[1]—This morning the Governor's younger brother marched to Gingee by way of Valudâvûr with the stores prepared yesterday. I sent my Ayyâvu, Guruvappa Chetti, Nâchana Pillai, etc., with him. As the Governor was busy, I stayed at home.

He sent for me at half-past eleven, to ask about his younger brother's departure. I said he had gone.

As he was then at leisure, I said, 'Since the outbreak of war between the English and the French in 1745, the English Commodore, Mr. Peyton and others, seized our ships and blockaded our town. When their ships appeared in our roadstead to boast their strength, M. Dupleix, the Governor, then called me and said, "In this time of troubles, unless you undertake the management, our affairs will not prosper." So I undertook the management, and although people were in difficulties and the Company lacked money, I succeeded in paying the establishment, obtaining supplies and feeding the people. In order to [dishonour] our English enemies and capture Madras, the seat of their authority, I adopted the four kinds of conduct[2] for the capture of

[1] *16th Tai, Bhava.*

[2] A proverbial saying. The four methods of treating an enemy were:—conciliation; gifts; sowing dissension; and open attack.

the place, imprisoned Mr. Morse the Governor and the Councillors; drove away Mahfuz Khân who came to their assistance with his army, concluded peace with him and brought him here[1]. Again when Mr. Rear-Admiral Boscawen surrounded and attacked the town with his 40 ships by land and sea for three months, I withstood him. Then Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân caused trouble to the French; therefore to destroy him, I summoned Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and Chandâ Sâhib with their great armies and despatched large forces from here, who slew Anwar-ud-dîn, seized Arcot and the Carnatic country, and brought them under the French Company's sway. I also made Râjâ Pratâb Singh of Tanjore and other Râjâs pay us tributes. Again when later Nâsîr Jang marched with a lakh of horse, 10 lakhs of [infantry] and a numerous artillery, etc., assisted by the Nawâbs of Cuddapah, Kandanûr, Sâvanûr, Bankâpuram and the Subahdars of Arcot, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Mysore, etc., their agents and the English attacked Pondichery, and fought for a year. I procured *sibbandis*, powder, shot, cannon, muskets, etc., with which our troops attacked the enemy who

[1] The account seems to ignore La Bourdonnais, Paradis, and others who did the actual fighting as well as Dupleix who did (or at least set on foot) the intriguing.

had surrounded the town, threw them into disorder and conquered the country. I directed affairs so well for a whole year, without sleep or food by day or night, that the mere mention of our troops' advance struck terror into the enemy's mind. At last Nâsîr Jang was killed, all he had was plundered, Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân was appointed to the Deccan subahs, and glory earned for the French Company and King as bright as crores of suns all shining together.' I then described with detail and fulness the time when any one, even the sweepers, influenced Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, who thereby lost all his glory for nothing and was covered by the black darkness of dishonour. The Governor listened attentively to all this and said that he had heard all this discussed before the French Company and King whenever there was occasion; he added, 'I have inquired about all this since my arrival as Governor five months ago, and, after satisfying myself, I gave you all authority. Although the French Company and the King are aware of what you have related, yet write out in French what you have said and give it to me so that when I go to Europe I may show it to the King and obtain for you presents and high titles, and the King's orders giving your appointment to your children so long as the

Company shall endure. I will get you all this when I return by the beginning of the 18th month.' I replied politely and thanked him, saying that I should enjoy all authority as I had his countenance. I then took leave and came home at noon.

Sunday, January 26.[1]—Three German commanders complained roughly to the Governor to-day that they had not received their pay, so the Governor in anger ordered the three to be imprisoned. The 400 or 500 Germans were allowed to keep their muskets but deprived of their cartridges and bayonets, while the French soldiers were supplied with twice the usual number of cartridges. The gates were ordered to be closed at seven o'clock at night.

Tyâgayyan, my vakîl, writes to me that M. Dusaussaye, the commander, reached the Srîrangam camp on the 22nd January and visited Nandi Râjâ on the 23rd from whom he received presents of lace, jewels, a pendant, a horse, etc., worth 2,000 or 3,000 rupees.

Tuesday, January 28.[2]—The drums were beaten this evening to proclaim the release of all English and French prisoners;[3] and it

[1] *17th Tai, Bhava.*

[2] *19th Tai, Bhava.*

[3] A man-for-man exchange took place, which still left many Frenchmen in English custody.

was announced that henceforth any French officers and soldiers deserting to Cuddalore or Madras would be returned to the French, as also that English officers and soldiers deserting hither would be likewise returned. Letters were read, and drums beaten to announce this.

Wednesday, January 29.[1]—The English soldiers and officers—upwards of 500 in all—who were imprisoned here, were sent to Fort St. David with the three officers[2] who came hither, on the understanding that, as soon as they reached Fort St. David, an equal number of French soldiers and officers should be sent to Pondichery and the rest to France by way of England on a Europe ship.

Thursday, January 30.[3]—At five o'clock this morning I went to the Fort with the naubat, music, dancing-people, standards, chowries, etc., as M. Godeheu, the Commander-in-chief was to go to Villiyanallûr to meet his younger brother coming from Gingee. He had ordered me to be ready to start at seven o'clock. The Governor was dressed by half-past-seven and there were assembled M. Barthélemy, M. Guillard, M. Boyelleau, M. Meyer (the Second at Tranquebar), M. Desfresnes, captain

[1] *20th Tai, Bhava.*
[2] Captains Polier and Beaver were sent to receive the English prisoners. *French Correspondence*, 1755, No. 7.
[3] *21st Tai, Bhava.*

of the soldiers, [the Major], M. Goupil, M. Clouët, and other Councillors and officers together with Hasan-ud-dîn Khân's Fish Standard, etc., borne by an elephant. Cloth to be laid before them, the peacock-feather fans and white chowries were also ready. At half-past seven I went to the Governor, and asked him whether, as the sun was hot, he would take his coffee here or at Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry. He said he would have it at Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry. I then desired him not to delay his departure; so he set out. I went with Annâswâmi, Ayyâswâmi, etc., to Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry, where a salute of 21 guns was fired when the Governor descended there at half-past eight. As he sat down, the dancing-girls danced before him. I presented Annâswâmi and Ayyâswâmi to the Governor, who accepted two limes from each. The Governor asked if they were my sons. I said they were. He asked how many daughters I had. I said, two. He then asked how many sons and daughters my younger brother had. I said, one son, who had accompanied M. *le Commandeur*, and a daughter. He inquired if Annâswâmi were like his mother. I said, yes. He then remarked that Ayyâswâmi was like me. The Governor turned to M. Barthélemy, M. Desfresnes and M. Boyelleau and said, 'Generally, the first son resembles the

mother and the second, the father. That is the case with me and my brother.' He then pointed to Ayyâswâmi and said he looked sharp and mischievous, according to the saying that the elder is meek and the younger sharp-witted. 'That is the case with us,' he said; and, turning to Annâswâmi, continued, 'His large eyes and bright face show that he will be as happy and lucky as a Râjâ.' M. Boyelleau, M. Desfresnes and other European gentlemen said the like and blessed him. The Governor said that he sincerely regarded my family as the Company's, and repeated it so as to show all the Europeans his great favour towards me.

After looking at the *kalgiturra*, blue pendant and other jewels worn by Annâswâmi, the Governor said that they were valuable and asked if they had been got during Nâsîr Jang's downfall. I replied, 'They were not acquired at that time, but were made for my father, and not out of my own acquisitions.' The Governor continued, 'Your father had these jewels made, but you must have yet costlier and finer jewels than he, and your sons than you.' I thanked him suitably.

At half-past eight or nine he ordered his coffee to be brought, but was told that it was not yet ready as he had been expected to take his mid-day meal. He then asked for a couple of plantains and some wine. On learning that

that also would have to be sent for, he told me to send a man quickly to Pondichery to get bread and wine. I said I would do so, and sent a man at once.

After witnessing the amusements for a little, he set out with the others for Villiyanallûr to meet his younger brother. I also followed with Annâswâmi and Ayyâswâmi. The writer Rangappa Mudali and others received him with music, dancing-girls, etc., and led him to a pandal where amusements were shown. He then again asked for his coffee, but as none was ready, I told Rangappa Mudali to fetch boiled cow's milk and sugar. When he brought this, each drank two cups. By now the bread and wine arrived from Pondichery, and at eleven he took his early meal; as his younger brother had still not arrived, he went to inspect the new fort built on the south side, which he had not seen before. He remarked, 'The work has been carefully done; but the rooms are too small. M. Dupleix was wanting in fore-thought to order such a building. It would have been healthier if the rooms had been larger. But if 16 cannon and 100 men were stationed here, 4,000 or 5,000 horse could be beaten and put to flight.'

Afterwards, the Company's merchants invited the Governor to visit their ware-houses. They showed him the chintz and coarse cloth,

etc., made there. The Governor then asked them what tolls were paid on them. I replied in the presence of the Villiyanallûr âmil, Rangappa Mudali, 'They collect great sums as customs; but duty should not be collected for Valudâvûr which is within the limits of Pondichery. Nothing was done about it in M. Lenoir's time. M. Dupleix used to say that M. Dumas would not remit the toll when Safdar 'Alî Khân, Chandâ Sâhib and other Nawâbs came here during the Maratha troubles; but he forgot about it afterwards. If the toll is removed, the people will be happy and trade will flourish in the town.' He replied that he would see about it when I produced an account of the duties. I said I would attend to it. But writer Rangappa Mudali's face fell and he went aside. The Governor being anxious about his younger brother not having arrived, returned to the pandal after inspecting various things.

I told M. Barthélemy, M. Boyelleau and M. Desfresnes that I would wait till the *commandeur* arrived at the pandal which had been erected for him, and that they could go to Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry. The Governor asked what I had said. When they repeated my words, he said, 'True, Rangappan prepared all this for the *commandeur*, so it is but fair that he should wait and receive him.' Just then

news came of the *commandeur*'s approach, so writer Rangappa Mudali was at once ordered to go with music, dancers, etc., to receive him. The *commandeur* was accordingly brought to the pandal, by Appâvu, etc., with all marks of honour. The Governor and the Councillors embraced him with great joy and asked about his visit to Gingee, Villupuram, Tiruviti, etc., places. Writer Rangappa Mudali brought cloth of gold, a roll of silk, etc., worth 1,000 rupees as a nazar. The Governor's younger brother mentioned my Appâvu to the Governor as follows:—'He is very able, and guarded me day and night, his behaviour pleased me much. There is no limit to my affection for him.' He also said to me, 'Your younger brother's son is so clever and capable that I am highly pleased with him.' I replied, 'He is your servant who awaits your favour.' The Governor, his younger brother and others observed that he would be very fortunate. As it was noon all retired to Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry to eat. I went to Villiyanallûr with Annâswâmi, Ayyâswâmi, Appâvu and others to take food and returned to Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry at half-past four. The Governor was watching the amusements with his brother and the Councillors. I paid my respects. The Governor again remarked that I was one of the Company's family.

Vinâyaka Pillai gave cloth of gold, etc., as a present. The Governor after watching the fireworks for some time, set out at half-past eight with all marks of honour, and, having reached the Fort at nine, retired upstairs. When I took leave he said that I was much fatigued and that I had better rest and talk of business next morning. I took leave and came away with all marks of honour.

Friday, [*January 31*].[1]—This morning the Governor sent for me; I went accordingly. He said, 'I complained to Mr. Pigot, the Governor of Madras, about the unjust acts of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's people; so Mr. Pigot wrote to 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân, the killedar and agent at Arcot, not to plunder our country, as a truce had been made between the English and French for 3 months from October 11, 1754, and continued for 18 months, for which time both parties should retain the countries they possessed and abide by the peace settled in Europe. Here is the letter. Write a tâkîd to him[2] in my name as follows :—"Having the welfare of the people at heart, we made peace from January 27, prescribing the limits of both the parties. But your people are transgressing their bounds and creating disturbances. Know by this that you must warn

[1] *22nd Tai, Bhava.*   [2] *i.e.*, 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân.

your people, reading to them this tâkîd and ordering them to observe their bounds; if they transgress them, I and the English will become your enemies and your affairs will be in danger. Enclosed is the letter from Mr. Pigot, the Governor of Madras, from which you will know everything." Bring this written in French to be copied into the book.' I accordingly took Mr. Pigot's letter.

He then said, 'Your younger brother's son who went to Gingee with my younger brother is very clever, intelligent and capable. My brother has told me how carefully he managed everything, and I am much pleased. I do not think that even you could have managed as well as he.'

In return for the English soldiers who were released and despatched to Fort St. David, 167 stout picked Frenchmen, with some *mestice* and Topass servants, arrived here to-day.

FEBRUARY 1755.

Tuesday, February 4.[1]—The news-letter from the north is as follows :—'Salabat Jang is near Adoni or thereabouts. Coja Nâmat-ul-lah Khân, who was âmil of Adoni, has been replaced by a Moghul (whose name I do not know). Savâi Nânâ is preparing to leave Poona with his troops and march into the Carnatic. The Mysore vakîl is with him. Salabat Jang and the Nânâ, who were till recently at variance have united and are proceeding to Mysore ; thence they will march hither. As Alamgîr Pâdshâh is powerful at Delhi, Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân does as he pleases ; Mulhari Holkar's [army has been sent to put down] the poligars who were plundering these parts. A parwâna with a dress of honour, 11 jewels, *kalgi*, *sarpêch*, etc., have been sent to Aurangabad as presents for Salabat Jang. Mulhari Holkar has been seized and beheaded for suffering his troops to plunder Delhi. This should be known to you.'

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[1] *26th Tai, Bhava.*

Gulbarga is 50 *kâdam* distant from Pondichery divided as follows :—

			Kâdam.
Pondichery to Arcot	...	...	10
Arcot to Adoni ...	...	...	25
Adoni to Râchûr ...	...	...	5
Râchûr to the [Kistna] ...		...	1
[The Kistna] to Gulbarga		...	9
	Total	...	50
Golconda to Gulbarga ...		...	15
Gulbarga to Aurangabad		...	25
Golconda to Aurangabad		...	40
Adoni to Udanabad (Chandrasên's country) ...	...	...	10
Aurangabad to Burhanpur		...	8
Burhanpur to the Narbadâ		...	8

Wednesday, February 5.[1]—I reported to the Governor this morning that a letter had reached Vellore with news that Salabat Jang was near the Pennâr, somewhere between Adoni, Gulbarga and Nârâyanapêttai ; and that he would march to the Carnatic by way of Mysore. The Governor asked why M. Bussy had not yet written. I said that a letter must be coming. 'We must see what he writes,' he said.

[1] *27th Tai, Bhava.*

Then I gave him a French translation of what I wrote in yesterday's diary about Alamgîr Pâdshâh's sitting on the throne at Delhi, Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân's enjoying all powers and the execution of Mulhari Râo Holkar for his atrocities and plunder at Delhi.[1] The Governor read it and observed that he had not heard this Delhi news. I said that it should be true and that M. Bussy would write about it.

The Europe ship the *Machault* has arrived, after touching at Mahé, with 33 chests of silver weighing 12,018 marcs and worth 2,50,000 rupees, on board.

The Governor said, 'I shall sail for Europe a week to-day; M. Leyrit, my successor, will arrive by the end of the month; and the Second can do nothing until his arrival. He will continue to be in charge of his office as usual but nothing more. I will write a paper ordering all affairs to be conducted through you; it shall be signed by the Councillors, and myself; it shall be sealed and given to you in two or three days. Give it to M. Leyrit on his arrival; and he will do as I have written.' I replied, 'Why be troubled about my affairs? Have I not your favour? All will happen as God wills. The towns-people are fearful; and I know not what will happen.' He smiled and

[1] Alamgîr II was placed on the throne by Ghâzi-ud-dîn and Mulhari Râo in June, 1754.

continued, 'There is no room for anxiety. The Second will have no power, you may depend upon that. Give my paper to M. Leyrit, who will do everything through you.' He then asked when houses had been demolished in the town, and why it had gone to ruin. I replied, 'At first, affairs went poorly; but then in the time of M. Lenoir, trade flourished. The *Kaikôlars*, *Sêdars*, *Sêniyars*,[1] painters, etc., flocked hither and actively carried on their business. So thatched houses were replaced by houses of brick, and poor men became Mahârâjâs. There were people here worth ten, twenty, forty thousand or a lakh, all earned by their trade. Men saw jewels and money who had never seen them before. Thus all lived plenteously and their children ripened in prosperity.[2] As trade flourished, the jungles were turned into houses, and all things smiled with wealth. But in M. Dumas' time, trade fell by a half; and then in M. Dupleix' time, the Marathas, Muhammadans and the English caused troubles and destroyed the country, with plunder, violence and rape, on all sides. People lost their houses, goods and wealth. Men say, "Like a gardener, M. Lenoir reclaimed land, ploughed and manured it, and prepared it for cultivation.

[1] Weaving-castes. [2] The Tamil is obscure.

He planted it with trees, which blossomed, and bore fruit, and for a while he enjoyed their fruit. M. Dumas devoured its produce. In M. Dupleix' time, a tempest laid the garden waste." So too, you, my lord, planted and I was hoping to enjoy the fruit at the proper time ; but now you are going, and all fear a tempest to uproot every tree.' M. Godeheu replied, 'M. Leyrit who is coming is a good gardener, skilled in cultivation. He is a gentleman, and all will be [happy].' I paid him high compliments, and then came home.

Sunday, February 9.[1]—At seven o'clock this morning, I visited the Governor. Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, the Mysore vakîl, gave a French writing to the Governor, saying, 'I wish to see Nandi Râjâ who has written for me. As you are going to Europe, I am also to mention the commissary whom you proposed to send to Tinnevelly and those parts, and ascertain your mind.' The Governor having read the paper, said, 'What if I am going to Europe? M. Leyrit is a greater man than I. If you speak to him about affairs, he will do as you desire. You had better go after seeing him and receiving his orders.' He then gave me Nandi Râjâ's letters to him and to me, received the day before yesterday, and told me

[1] *1st Mâsi, Bhava.*

to bring French translations. He then told Venkatanâranappa Ayyan that he would reply to Nandi Râjâ when I brought the French translation, and that he could then send it along with a letter of his own. Then he dismissed him.

He then said, 'I told you to write a letter to the Arab Râjâ at Mocha for the Mocha ship now ready to sail. Has the letter been written?' I said it had, and related its contents as follows:—'You wrote that you would send coffee or other goods for the money due from several persons at Betelfaqi for whom you would be answerable. But nothing has yet been received. A ship is now sent with M. Lenguerné[?] Be pleased to assist the vessel to procure goods for the sums still due.' I wrote this and added such compliments as were usually paid by M. Dupleix. The letter was sealed and given to M. Lenguerné.

Messengers arrived with two letters from the Nânâ in the north and a letter from Muzaffar Khân in French. He told me to get them translated into French; but I returned him Muzaffar Khân's as it was in French already. Having opened and read Nandi Râjâ's and the Nânâ's letters, I gave them to Madanânda Pandit for M. Le Beaume to be translated.

The Governor then said, 'I am sailing for Europe on Thursday. Four days ago, I wrote

and sealed a letter telling M. Leyrit to pay ten times the attention to your advice that I have paid. He will act accordingly. I will give you the letter. Until he arrives, you should attend to the Company's and country affairs, and render an account to him. You are not accountable to any till then. I have given the necessary orders.'—'All shall be according to your greatness,' I replied, and paid him my compliments.

The Governor then said, 'You know that I have abolished the Valudâvûr toll. Are not tolls collected in the country round Madras?' I replied, 'The country round Madras belongs to Muhammad 'Alî Khân, so toll must be collected. When formerly the country round Pondichery belonged to the Muhammadans, tolls were collected both here and outside. As Valudâvûr and Villiyanallûr are now the Company's jaghir, people would suffer if tolls were collected both here and outside, and trade would decay. So they have been abolished. It is also not right to collect both land and sea-customs. Former Governors wished to get rid of the tolls in order to promote the town's prosperity, but they were not destined to earn that glory, which was reserved for your merits.' I thus spoke with compliments. He said, 'Well, the councillors have met in the council-room and I must go.' He then went to the

council-room. I took leave and came home. I did not go out this afternoon, so heard no news.

Monday, February 10.[1]—This morning M. du Rocher, the European, sent to me the Governor's order to visit him. I went to him accordingly, and in the course of our conversation, he said, 'Two French and English commissaries are to confer about the Karunguli country[2], so I have orders to ascertain who occupied it before the peace. I have asked the amaldâr to give me a statement of how affairs stood when negotiations for peace began and what has happened since. If you will bring the statement to your old office, I will come to-morrow, and discuss matters.' Thereon I sent for writer Rangappa Mudali and told him to give me a copy of the statement dated October 11, given to M. Delarche about what the English had done. I was also told to send for Ayyan Sâstri, former amaldâr of the Wandiwash country, and Rangâji Pandit[3], amaldâr of the Karunguli country, and ascertain what happened at that time; as also for Muttu Mallâ Reddi of Karungulipâlaiyam, who was on the English side, to obtain a statement from him.

[1] *2nd Mâsi, Bhava.*

[2] They were du Rocher himself and Tobin, for the French; Maskelyne and Paccard for the English.

[3] Probably a slip for Venkâji mentioned below.

Tuesday, February 11.[1]—This morning I sent for writer Rangappa Mudali, Venkâji Pandit and Ayyan Sâstri, the former amaldârs of the Karunguli and Wandiwash countries and Muttu Mallâ Reddi of the Tindivanam country, and told them to remain there in my office in the nut-godown, till I returned with M. du Rocher. Afterwards I went to M. du Rocher's and told him that I had summoned writer Rangappa Mudali, etc., to my office as he had desired yesterday, and that, if he would come, we could discuss matters. He replied, 'I will come in about an hour. You can keep them till I come.' I took leave therefore and went to the Fort to visit the Governor, giving him a bar of pale-coloured gold, and saying, 'I succeeded Kanakarâya Mudali as the Company's chief dubâsh on his death, on February 12, 1746. I sent spies about the capture of Madras and I know how that territory was obtained. I sent my younger brother, Tiruvêngadam with M. de La Bourdonnais when he went against Madras, and was in charge of business after our capture of the place, during Mahfuz Khân's attack, his sickness and flight to Conjeeveram, his subsequent march with Muhammad 'Alî Khân and encampment on the banks of the Pennâr near Fort St. David;

[1] *3rd Mâsi, Bhava.*

his attack on Pondichery, and the conclusion of peace. When in the year 1748, the English Admiral, Mr. Boscawen, the Unlucky, raised batteries and attacked Pondichery for two months by land and by sea with 40 ships and sloops, all the Tamils and Christians left the town with their women and children; but I remained with my family, reporting the country news, amidst bombardments of shot and shell. Chandâ Sâhib and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân then came, and in the battle of Ambûr M. d'Auteuil and his army cut off Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, the Nawâb of Arcot. Then when Nâsîr Jang had come, and taken Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân prisoner, Chandâ Sâhib fled to Pondichery, but our army attacked Nâsîr Jang (who had retired to Arcot) at Dêsûr and defeated him. Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân then came here, obtained the Deccan subahs and moved again to Arcot. In all these matters, I laboured hard, while M. Delarche, only for interpreting to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân for 15 days, got 5 lakhs of rupees. He then got himself appointed *caissier* in the Council. Long before this, M. Lenoir had advised with me and sent me as captain to Porto Novo and managed all trade by me. My bales of blue-cloth were stamped R and sent to Europe, and accounts written of my services; a letter of thanks was

sent in return.' I had written out all these details in a *cahier* in French and gave it to the Governor, reporting all that had taken place within my memory. He replied, 'I always keep my word and will show this document to the Company, and the ministers, and get you a medal and presents, with treasure adequate to your services. I will bring these when I return in 18 months, or, if I do not come, I will send them to you, and I will write to the Governor to treat you well, and write to you every year also. I have already written a note to M. Leyrit, which I will give you the day after to-morrow. I sail on Saturday and I shall talk with you at leisure. You may go.' Just then M. Clouët came, and the Governor talked with him, so I departed to the sorting-godown. I told Appâvu to be present at the sale of horses by outcry, and was about to go according to my appointment with M. du Rocher, when M. [ ]'s[1] son came to me and said, 'M. Cornet has got an order signed by the Governor for 300 pagodas, for a gold chain, pendant, *sarpêch* and *turra* to be presented to you. I wrote out the order.' I thanked him, and went to my office where M. du Rocher was waiting. What happened there [ ].

[1] The transcript has *Semirsupayan*.

Tuesday, February 18.[1]—Râman, M. Barthélemy's servant [says], that as M. Barthélemy is in charge of the government,[2] he is promising every one this and that, and encouraging one to accuse another, hoping to get sums from 100 to 3,000 or 10,000 rupees. M. Godeheu knew that his[3] master, M. Barthélemy, was taking bribes ; so, before departing, he ordered him to do nothing without the consent of the Council, for fear that he should shake all the fruit, ripe and unripe, from the tree. Men say they know not what punishment God will give him for his conduct.

This morning I reported the following news :—'In the Ulaganallûr, Kachirâyanpâlaiyam, Mangalûr, etc., tannahs—7 or 8 places in all—a Moghul, who was head of the Ulaganallûr tannah, on not receiving his pay, made friends with the captains of the sepoys, and sent word to Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân of the Eravâsanallûr fort, swearing to join him and his people ; after which he seized the people of the Kalkurichi country, yielding a revenue of two lakhs, forcing them to cut their paddy, etc., and collecting money. He does not suffer my amaldâr to appear in those parts, and is

[1] *10th Mâsi, Bhava.*

[2] Godeheu had sailed on February 16, leaving affairs in charge of a Committee of three, Barthélemy, Boyelleau, and Guillard.

[3] *i.e.*, the dubâsh's.

causing endless troubles. The poligar of Vêttavalam is doing the same.' When I had reported all this, he told me to bring a written statement. Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân has long been exercising authority, has seized the whole of Tirunâmanallûr and is making disturbances in Tiruviti, etc., places. He has taken cowles from the cultivators in Kalkurichi, Villupuram, etc., countries in those parts, and collected even 40,000 or 50,000 rupees from the people. When I promised to write all this, he said, 'Do so ; I will send powder, shot and soldiers, etc. Also write out the distances of Gingee, Vriddhachalam and Tiruviti from those parts.' I said I would do so. He then went to the sorting-godown and thence to his house. I stayed till 49 bales of cloth had been made up ; then when M. Guillard and other gentlemen had gone away, I came home at noon.

Friday, February 21.[1]—Before going to the Fort this morning, I went to M. Barthélemy's and said, 'The jemedars [ ] etc., and heads of the guards at Kachirâyanpâlaiyam, Mangalûr, Ulaganallûr, etc., belonging to the Kalkurichi taluk, complain that M. Godeheu paid them only a part of their six months' arrears. Pêrâ Sâmâ Râo who took a lease from

[1] *13th Mâsi, Bhava.*

me in January has not been allowed to enter Kalkurichi ; the ryots were seized and beaten ; the crops were ordered to be cut, and the revenue seized ; having done all this, they joined Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân, who has been causing disturbances from Eravâsanallûr fort. Mîr Sâhib also went there and made terms, when salutes were fired and sugar distributed. They intend to plunder the Tiruviti, Villupuram, etc., countries.' These are the contents of the cadjan letter which I have translated into French.

Venkata Râo, amaldâr of Vriddhachalam, has written that the major serving under the Commander, is compelling the bazaar-people to give him four or six rupees for each shop, and beating, kicking and otherwise troubling people. Having translated this letter also, I gave him these two letters, along with the French complaint about the disturbances caused by Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân of Eravâsanallûr and the loss of 40,000 rupees sustained in our country by troubling the people. I also delivered M. du Rocher's letter from Madurantakam addressed to the Council and sent by Venkâji Pandit, who was amaldâr of the Karunguli country in writer Ranga Pillai's time, and who has come here.

Muzaffar Khân's son then came with M. Godeheu's passport for Muzaffar Khân's

wife. He read the passport and, signing it, said that it only mentioned Muzaffar Khân's wife. I observed that she must be allowed to take her people and goods, and repeated this to Bâqir Miyân (Muzaffar Khân's son) and Dilâwar Khân.

Shaikh Ibrâhîm's son then came, saying, 'On receipt of M. Bussy's letter about sending me and my mother, M. Godeheu sent for me and gave us leave and a gate pass. It has taken us long to make all our preparations. Permit us to leave this evening.' So saying he showed M. Godeheu's pass for the Madras gate. He read and signed it underneath and told them to go by Ellore, Rajahmundry and Chicacole. Muzaffar Khân's son and Shaikh Ibrâhîm's people then departed.

M. Guillard, who is acting as the Second, M. Bourquenoud, M. Boyelleau, M. Delarche, M. du Bausset and others came to hold a Council. Learning that they had come to hold a Council upstairs, M. Barthélemy said to me that he would place before the Council the papers I had given him, and went up. I went to my office in the flower garden and waited there. Nallappa Nayinâr, the newly appointed head-peon, came and said, 'Only Muzaffar Khân's wife's name was mentioned in the pass, so I reported that her eldest son should stay here, but asked whether the two

children in arms might be taken away. He permitted me to do so; so in his presence, I wrote a pass and gave it.' I replied that he must do as the Governor had said. He took leave and departed.

A chobdar and M. Barthélemy's second dubâsh said that all the Councillors but M. Barthélemy, M. Guillard and M. Boyelleau had gone away and that therefore I was wanted. When I went upstairs, I found M. Barthélemy, M. Guillard and M. Boyelleau. I was offered a chair. They said, 'M. du Rocher's letter from Madurantakam says :—"Venkâji Pandit with Elaichiyappa Mudali managed the Karunguli country in writer Ranga Pillai's time. I am sending him back lest he should do something unexpected, or join the English amaldâr and tell lies against us." Where is Venkâji Pandit?' I replied, 'M. du Rocher has written the same news to me. He is very clever and capable, and I find him using much prudence in all things. The state of affairs there proves the zeal and activity he has shown in transacting our people's business. Rumour or something, I know not what, made M. du Rocher suspect Venkâji Pandit and send him to M. Duliron at Âlambarai, who has sent him on here with four sepoys. M. du Rocher has managed the affair so cleverly that neither Venkâji Pandit nor the people there knew till

this evening that he was to be brought to Pondichery. No one else can see through the trickery of the English or manage the Company's affairs.' But M. Barthélemy could not bear my praise of M. du Rocher, and said, 'What does he know? Venkâji Pandit can only be imprisoned if some definite charge is brought against him, and evidence given to support it.'—'True,' I replied, 'this Venkâji Pandit formerly served the English and then came here. Now he is on neither side. Now that conferences are going on, M. du Rocher feared that Venkâji Pandit might go back to them, and assert falsehoods. So he has been prudent enough to send the Pandit unsuspectingly to Âlambarai and thence here, knowing that nothing will be done to him, and that we can send him home when affairs have been settled.' M. Boyelleau and M. Guillard said that I spoke truly. M. Barthélemy agreed.

He then asked about Mîr Sâhib. I replied that along with Mahâdêva Ayyan's guard, he was troubling people greatly. He replied, 'That is because they have received no pay. That business must be stopped. A letter must be written to Madras about Mîr Sâhib saying that, though he is our man, he has been causing disturbances in our country against us, that therefore troops must be sent against him, when their reply has been received.' I

replied, 'The English are not to be trusted. If we try to secure peace by fair means, they throw some obstacle in the way, so, they must be treated as they treat us.' M. Barthélemy said that M. du Rocher was acting hastily. I replied, 'He is not that sort of man. When he went there with Mundu Venkata Reddi, the amaldâr of Karunguli, the sentries at the gate stopped the latter and almost tore his gown from his shoulders. When M. du Rocher left them and came out, Mundu Venkatarâma Reddi showed him his torn gown, and related what had happened; and M. du Rocher sent an angry message to the runaway[1] captain sent by the English, that his man should not have been treated with such disrespect and that he would not brook the repetition of such conduct.' Is he to blame?'

He then asked me how much had been paid in of the collections up to now, and when the balance would be paid in. I replied, 'There are accounts of what has already been paid. More than 1,50,000 rupees will be paid by March 30, and as much more by April 30; and the balance will be paid monthly by September 30.' He said that in two months from 1½ to 2 lakhs must be paid. I replied that I

[1] Reading *Ôdinakapitân* for *Ôdakapitân*. I believe the reference is to Paccard, who was alleged by the French to have twice deserted from Pondichery. *French Correspondence*, 1755, No. 17

would certainly pay over whatever was collected without failure. He asked if the whole amount would be paid in by September. I said it should and added, 'Mîr Sâhib with the tannah people is disturbing the Kalkurichi taluk, yielding a revenue of two lakhs. The Pandâri of Vêttavalam is doing the same. You know this, and also the disturbances in Karunguli and the departure of M. du Rocher thither. There are also disturbances in certain villages yielding a revenue of a lakh of rupees in Wandiwash taluk.' M. Barthélemy said, 'That will be all right. M. du Rocher has gone thither; and we will write about Mîr Sâhib's conduct, have him punished, and prevent such disturbances.' I replied, 'I must report to you what goes on, otherwise you will blame me. Moreover it concerns the revenue and that is why I report it to you.'[1]—'Don't worry,' he replied, 'I will see that there are no disturbances.'

Then M. Barthélemy said in the presence of the councillors, M. Guillard and M. Boyelleau, 'I see all sorts of people are entering the Fort in palankins. Henceforth the Company's courtier among the Tamils, and Chandâ Sâhib's son, Taqî Sâhib's son and 'Alî Naqî among the Muhammadans, alone are to be

[1] The diarist had rented the revenues of the country round Pondichery.

admitted in palankins.' He then gave orders accordingly to the major. I requested permission also for my son, [and] Appâvu. M. Guillard and M. Boyelleau were against my request; but M. Barthélemy said, 'Don't argue with them now. Wait and I will get the permission for you.' We then talked at length about affairs in M. Dupleix' and M. Godeheu's time. There were present in all five persons—M. Barthélemy, M. Boyelleau, M. Guillard, M. Chevreau M. Godeheu's secretary, and I. After some conversation, I took leave and came home.

Saturday, February 22.[1]—When I went to M. Barthélemy's this morning, he took me aside and asked me who Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân or Mîr Sâhib was. I replied that Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân's real name was Qamar Sâhib. Thereupon he asked what should be done in his affair. I replied, 'The tannah people, having received no pay for six months, have joined Mîr Sâhib and are plundering the country. If 300 soldiers, 700 peons and 50 troopers are sent with sufficient powder, shot, cannon, etc., with the help of the poligars of Mangalûr and Kângudaiyâyan, they will beat Mîr Sâhib, and all will be struck with fear. Some of his people are sending messages offering to join

[1] *14th Mâsi, Bhavâ.*

our people once our troops march from here.' M. Barthélemy said, 'He was our man formerly, but now he is giving trouble. We must first write to the English that we are sending troops to attack him and then despatch the troops; for, otherwise, the English may say that he is their man; but if we write to them, they will not say so. But have you written out a list showing the route, the halting places, and the villages on the roads, ready for our sending troops to Eravâsanallûr?' I said that I had not and that I would write one now in French and come back with it. He replied, 'I have written to the English according to the terms of your letter of yesterday. I will go to the Fort, hold a council about it, and add what more should be written. You had better also come to the Fort.' So saying [

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Sunday, February 23.[1]—I left home this morning, and, going to M. Barthélemy's, said, 'Yesterday a letter was received from Nandi Râjâ in a laced bag addressed to M. Godeheu. I am going to M. Le Beaume to get it translated into French.'—'What does it say?' he asked. I replied, 'It is to the following effect:—"When I was in Mysore, Muhammad 'Alî Khân promised me Trichinopoly, confirming it by oath

[1] *15th Mâsi, Bhava.*

and a writing. But after his business had been done, he did not keep his promise but offered instead a crore of rupees towards my expenses. At that time M. Dupleix offered, with the council's approval, to give us the fort of Trichinopoly. Thinking that the French always kept their word, I gave up my agreement with Muhammad 'Alî Khân, and for two years maintained my own *sibbandis*, at the same time bearing the cost of the French troops. At that time a letter summoned me back to Seringapatam. I informed M. Dupleix; but he replied that I must not go as many men were expected by seven or eight Europe ships, on whose arrival he would send reinforcements to capture Trichinopoly and give it to me. M. Godeheu then arrived by the ship as temporary Governor, and he wrote that I should trust him. He recalled M. Mainville, the commander, and sent M. Maissin, who spoiled everything. He then, to serve his own ends, wrote that a truce had been established for three months. Thereon I wrote that I should return home as there was no war. M. Godeheu replied that I should not do so, but remain at Srîrangam, whither after three months he would send large forces to capture Trichinopoly and give it to me. Him also I believed and remained. Otherwise I would have gone. Then it was settled that there should be no

war for 18 months. When three months were over, Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English captured the southern countries and the middle country belonging to me. But we have not been asked to send troops to recover them. Moreover now Nawâb Salabat Jang and M. Bussy have crossed the Kistna and are coming against Mysore to collect the peshkash.[1] In reliance on you, I expended all the peshkash money on maintaining troops. So how can I pay Salabat Jang and M. Bussy? If you will give me Trichinopoly, I will give a bond to the merchants and get money with which to pay them. Otherwise let Muhammad 'Alî Khân be asked for money to be paid to me for my expenses; and I will repay it. It is the duty of the Governor to find resources for this money, so you must write in such a manner as to prevent M. Bussy and Salabat Jang from causing disturbances in our country'". Hearing this, he said, 'I will read it later on. We must both examine the accounts of the peons for the first of the month and settle them.'—'I will do as you please,' I replied.

Friday, February 28.[2]—This morning M. Barthélemy, M. Guillard and M. Boyelleau, having summoned me, wrote out and gave me

[1] See Orme, Vol. I, pp. 404-405.
[2] *20th Mâsi, Bhava.*

in French the reply to be sent to Nandi Râjâ. M. Chevreau (M. Godeheu's secretary) was present. I took the paper to M. Le Beaume and had it translated into Telugu. M. Barthélemy then sealed it and gave it back to me to put in a laced bag. I despatched it by a camel-man with one to M. Dusaussaye. The letter says :—'M. Dusaussaye writes to me that you sent troops against Turaiyûr in spite of all he said to you. You know that we have resolved on peace and that neither side shall take up arms, that Turaiyûr is ours, and that we collect its peshkash; therefore I am surprised at your behaviour. However I trust that, on receipt of this letter, you will withdraw your army, and act in a friendly manner; otherwise I shall regard you as an enemy. This should be known to you. Deeming you my sincere friend, I wrote to M. Dusaussaye to help you, observing the terms of the treaty, and behaving in a friendly manner towards you. You should do likewise.'

M. Barthélemy also gave me a cadjan letter from M. Yvère[?], the commander at Tiruviti, saying :—' Morâri Râo has plundered Sâtghar, and 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân's people are interfering unjustly. The Nawâb of Cuddapah is marching with a large army supported by the Nawâbs of Kandanûr, Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram, and even Morâri

Râo, to seize Chidambaram. In the battle between Salabat Jang, and Raghôji Bhônsla and Fatteh Singh, the Marathas were defeated and put to flight, and Salabat Jang has gone to Hyderabad with the 2,000 horses and 5 cannon which he captured. The Nânâ and Muzaffar Khân are marching with 40,000 horse and 60,000 valiant soldiers towards the Carnatic. Narasinga Râo has delivered the letters he obtained for the Nawâbs of Cuddapah and Kandanûr, and is marching against Tirupati with 500 horse and 500 valiant soldiers.' When I thus reported the contents, three-fourths of which are false and only a quarter true, he told me to keep the letter. I have put it in my *avashi*. I then took leave and came home.

I sent for Venkatanâranappayyan, the Mysore vakîl, who sent Sêshappan his writer. I told him about the letter written to Nandi Râjâ and advised him to write to the latter that, if he acted rashly, the end would be bad. I did not write to Nandi Râjâ myself, as the writer, Venkayyan, had gone to Kumbakonam.

MARCH 1755.

Saturday, March 1.[1]—At seven o'clock this morning, I went to M. Barthélemy's. I was told that he was talking to M. du Rocher, the commissary at Madurantakam, to settle the villages in the Karunguli, etc., countries disputed between the English and the French. I went therefore to my office, where I heard that M. Barthélemy, M. Guillard, M. Boyelleau, and M. du Rocher, 4 persons in all, had consulted together till half-past twelve. I then came home as it was past noon.

At half-past five this afternoon, M. Barthélemy sent his chobdar with a receipt for 30,000 rupees to be paid out of the rent moneys. The chobdar delivered me the receipt and said that he had been ordered to give me two letters in bags brought by a camel-messenger from Nandi Râjâ. I told the chobdar that I had no money but I should receive money in two or three days, when I would pay it and take the receipt. So saying I returned the receipt. Of the two packets, one was addressed to M. Barthélemy, M. Guillard and M. Boyelleau and the other was

[1] *21st Mâsi, Bhava.*

addressed to me. The packet addressed to M. Barthélemy, etc., was open ; it contained a list in Kanarese of the amounts owed by Râmalinga Pillai (Vinâyaka Pillai's man). I do not know why it was in that packet instead of in mine. Nandi Râjâ's letter to M. Barthélemy, etc., says :—'I hear that our vakîl, Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, said that we should leave Srîrangam if M. Dusaussaye the commander were not recalled and another appointed in his stead. I neither wrote nor gave any such order ; nor would Venkatanâranappa Ayyan say such a thing without orders. No such thing could have happened. If a new commander has been sent, let him be recalled and M. Dusaussaye continue.' The letter contained compliments. I went out intending to get it translated into French and give it to-morrow.

I therefore left my house and went to my office in the flower-garden. Râman, M. Barthélemy's dubâsh, brought me back the receipt for 30,000 rupees, saying, 'The chobdar is a foolish fellow. Why did you send it back ? You can pay the money in instalments in three or four days ; but try to send 10,000 rupees to-morrow.'—'Very well,' I replied, 'I will send you all the money that has been collected to-morrow.'—'Let it be sent,' he said. As he was leaving, I said, 'The money has to

be paid to the sepoys, and M. Barthélemy has already spoken to me about it. The amount will be paid in small sums.' So saying I took the receipt and dismissed him.

After he had gone, Madanânda Pandit came and said M. Le Beaume had told him that, as it was very late at night, he had had no time to translate Nandi Râjâ's letter into French and that he would have the translation ready to-morrow. I told Madanânda Pandit to keep the letter and bring the translation to-morrow.

Nandi Râjâ has not mentioned the details above-written in his letter to me, but says that M. Maissin has received from him large sums of money, and jewels, which must be returned, and that Tyâgayyan knew all about the matter.

At the time of the exchange of prisoners, M. Godeheu wrote asking Mr. Saunders to release Rangô Pandit, who was imprisoned along with the soldiers in Fort St. David at the time of Chandâ Sâhib's death in 1752. I now hear that Mr. Pigot, Governor of Madras, has written about it to Mr. Starke, Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, along with the letters to the council here. Venkata Râo, Rangô Pandit's nephew, reported the news to me this afternoon.

Wednesday, March 5.[1]—I was too unwell to go out this morning, so remained at home, having sent Appâvu and Guruvappa Chetti to the place where the Company's merchants were packing cloth.

Kastûri Rangayyan (the Turaiyûr vakîl) and Kulasêkharam Venkatanâranappa Ayyan read to me the cadjan letter of Varadarâja Reddi, the Turaiyûr dalavâi. It says, 'I have given large sums to the Company and am under their protection. This displeased Nandi Râjâ who is now collecting the troops he has in pay. Troubles may begin at any time. I have written the thing that is. Nandi Râjâ has sent 3,000 horse, 5,000 foot, and 5,000 of the fort troops,[2] to help Râmâ Reddi and Varadâ Reddi, against the wishes of the commander. The troops set out on the 20th, appeared on all sides on the 21st and fought fiercely till the 26th, many being wounded on both sides. Varadâ Reddi treacherously brought large forces into the town. Unable to continue any longer, the *dorai* and I set out with our children on the morning of the 24th and reached Ariyalûr. The palace and the town have been plundered and Nandi Râjâ must have taken ten or twelve lakhs of plunder;

[1] *25th Mâsi, Bhava.*
[2] *i.e.*, of those lying before Trichinopoly.

though Râjasrî Pillai Avargal[1] is at the head of all affairs, and he and the Company are well-disposed towards me, yet Nandi Râjâ has attacked me. Tell this to Râjasrî Pillai Avargal, whose duty it is to maintain matters as formerly, so that he may settle our affairs and protect us, thus obtaining glory. Remain with him day and night and explain all things to him, so that he may earn the honour of establishing a settlement. Formerly in the matter of horses and elephants, he sent them to get glory ; and now if he is on our side, like Srîranganâyaka,[2] and helps us, all things will prosper. As the times are bad, it will be of great help if the money is sent through Sêshâchalam. Tell this to Râjasrî Pillai Avargal.'

Thursday, March 6.[3]—I was unwell, so I remained at home this morning also. I hear the following news :—When Vinâyaka Pillai was granted the roundel,[4] 10,000 rupees were given to M. Barthélemy as a nazar, 120 pagodas apiece to M. Delarche and M. du Bausset, 25 pagodas to M. Guillard, 21 pagodas to M. Desfresnes who refused it, and 25 pagodas to M. Boyelleau who also refused it and told him

[1] *i.e.*, the diarist.
[2] Srîranganâyaka or Srîranganâtha is the God of the great Vishnu temple at Srîrangam.
[3] *26th Mâsi, Bhava.*
[4] A very special privilege and dignity.

to go away. Thereon Vinâyaka Pillai went out and gave the nazar to M. Boyelleau's dubâsh, who took it at once to M. Boyelleau. But on seeing the pagodas, the latter in anger struck his dubâsh twice, and told him to bring Vinâyaka Pillai back. He ran out immediately after Vinâyaka Pillai and brought him, having given him back the pagodas. On seeing Vinâyaka Pillai, M. Boyelleau said, 'Am I to take money got by thievery? Why did M. Barthélemy give it[1] you who stand with folded arms before the courtier? Go.' Vinâyaka Pillai then gave a nazar of 11 pagodas to M. Miran, who refused it, but asked, 'Where is your roundel? You should cover your head with a basket or winnowing fan. They would become you well. You write accounts as a cooly works for daily wages; so why should you have a roundel?' Thus Vinâyaka Pillai was dismissed in anger, and his pagodas were refused.

This morning I sent by Sieur Vida Correa [?] to M. Chevreau, M. Godeheu's secretary, the Persian letter from 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân, Nawâb of Cuddapah, with its French translation.

Nandi Râjâ's letter to M. Barthélemy, M. Guillard and M. Boyelleau says :—'I hear

[1] The privilege of having a roundel.

that you propose to send another commander to replace M. Dusaussaye, at the request of my vakîl, Venkatanâranappa Ayyan ; I never wrote to him about it, nor could he have said so. If anybody has already been sent as commander, let him be recalled and M. Dusaussaye be sent back.' I received this letter and its French translation along with the others ; but I think they had been opened by the Company's people.

There was also an account for 41,762 rupees and 5 fanams made up as follows :—

Money due from Arumpâtai Râmalinga Pillai.	11,000 rupees.
Money due from Sâlidân Mudali	6,100 rupees.
Money due from Êkâmbara Mudali	20,000 rupees.
Money due from Bâpu Chetti	3,342 rupees and 5 fanams
Money due from Tiruvêngadanâtha Mudali.	720 rupees.
Total in chakrams from five persons	41,762 rupees[1] and 5 fanams

[1] The actual total is 41,162 rupees.

There was a French copy of this account and these two were sent by M. Chevreau.

Nandi Râjâ's letter to M. Dusaussaye, the commandant, is as follows :—'Beyond what was promised by note of hand on Turaiyûr in Paramânanda Pillai's time, for what further sum are we responsible? Why do you object saying that you have received a letter from Turaiyûr? It is not the Company's. The poligar is under me, and has paid me rent these four years. Everything shall be settled in the proper manner.' I gave this letter, and its French translation—8 writings in all—to Sieur Vida Correa who told me at five that he had delivered them to M. Chevreau at the Fort at four o'clock.

The Topass Louche[?] at three o'clock brought a letter from Nandi Râjâ to M. Barthélemy, dated February 28. He said that M. Barthélemy wanted a French translation. I sent it to M. Le Beaume at four o'clock by Madanânda Pandit to be translated into French. It says that Turaiyûr is one of the countries pledged for interest on the loans given by Nandi Râjâ to [Muhammad 'Alî]; that the poligar has nothing to do with the Company, and a letter will be written about it; that Nandi Râjâ did not exceed his rights, or cross the Cauvery to attack the English; but that the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân

transgressing their limits, have captured the country as far as the pâlaiyam of Manappârai and are advancing southwards ; that although he has written several times about this, no answer has been received and he is unwilling to continue in Srîrangam.

The receipt of these letters, the recall of M. Dusaussaye, and the several reports, make me believe that M. Dusaussaye, the commander, has had a bribe of 20,000 rupees with 10,000 to the dubâshes and others, to purchase his consent to and countenance of Nandi Râjâ's seizing Turaiyûr. Hence these letters.

Friday, March 7.[1]—Vinâyaka Pillai, having sent all necessaries last night to Chandâ Sâhib's house, ordered food to be prepared there for a feast to be given to him and M. Barthélemy ; then with all the dishes that had been cooked, Chandâ Sâhib's son Razâ Sâhib, 'Alî Naqî Sâhib and Vinâyaka Pillai went to M. Barthélemy's house and ate. Two salutes of 19 guns and three salutes of 15 guns were fired. Two pieces of broad cloth, five yards of cloth of gold, two small mirrors and a musket with a broad-cloth cover, were given as presents to Chandâ Sâhib's son. At four o'clock, M. Barthélemy drove out in a coach and six with the Sâhib Zâda on his right and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib

[1] *27th Mâsi, Bhava.*

and M. Delarche sitting opposite. After them came a carriage drawn by two horses with two accountants. Then in a one-horse carriage drove M. Barthélemy's secretary, and after him Vinâyaka Pillai driving himself in a one-horse carriage. Then came two Europeans (whose names I do not know) in a coach and pair, and last of all M. Barthélemy's dubâsh Râmu Pillai on horseback with four troopers. They returned at seven o'clock.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, M. Barthélemy sent a bond for a lakh of rupees given on the security of Pulluvari Chennappayyan and executed by Nandi Râjâ in favour of Paramânanda Pillai on account of the Company's dues. As it was in Kanarese, I sent Gôpâlaswâmi at five to Mysore Venkatanâranappa Ayyan's house to get it translated by his writer Sêshayyan into Telugu and Tamil. I write below the details :—

' A document given by Nandi Râjâ to Paramânanda Pillai on 2nd *Arppisi* [October 15] the 14th day of the bright half[1] of *Âswija*. If a dress and a seal-ring are obtained for Chennappayyan by 17th *Arppisi* [October 30] Bhava (the 15th day in the bright half of *Kârttigai*), Paramânandan must receive the amount from Chennappayyan ; but if they are not given within this time, I will pay the lakh of rupees.'

1 [*Sic*] ? Dark half.

Gôpâlaswâmi asked Venkatanâranappa Ayyan what this was about and who Chennappayyan was. Venkatanâranappa Ayyan said, 'Kêdam Pulluvari Chennappayyan is a respectable person holding an appointment in Mysore. He went to Nandi Râjâ and proposed to train the troops in the fort and take charge of the 72 military posts, for which office, which is called *Kandachar*,[1] he would pay the Palace a lakh of chakrams with a present of a lakh of rupees. Nandi Râjâ replied, "I owe money to the French ; if you will pay them, I will get you a dress and a seal-ring for the appointment from Mysore." Chennappayyan then agreed to pay the amount to Paramânanda Pillai and at his request Nandi Râjâ gave this bond in the name of Paramânanda Pillai.' Gôpâlaswâmi asking if Paramânandan had really received the amount, Venkatanâranappa Ayyan replied that he must have received it and given Nandi Râjâ a receipt.

Gôpâlaswâmi reported this to me at seven o'clock. Thereupon I sent for my vakîl Tyâgayyan, in order to ask him what he knew of the matter. On his arrival, Gôpâlaswâmi questioned him. He replied in Telugu and I have written it also in Telugu.

[1] The word seems to have meant either military administration or the police establishment. See Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. I, pp. 579 and 604.

Yesterday M. Barthélemy sent me the agreement executed by Nandi Râjâ in favour of Paramânanda Pillai, for translation into French. I had no time to get it done yesterday, but at ten o'clock to-day, I sent Râmânji Pandit and Gôpâlaswâmi to M. Le Beaume for that purpose. They accordingly went to M. Le Beaume but as he was busy with the Company's accounts, there was some delay. A chobdar from M. Barthélemy came and said that he had been sent to fetch at once the note which had been given for translation. I sent him back with a message that I had given it to be translated, and that I would send it as soon as it was finished. When this message was given, M. Barthélemy waited a short while and then sent another chobdar for it. The latter said that the Governor was very angry and that he had been ordered to bring it at once. Immediately, I sent two peons for it to Râmânji Pandit and Gôpâlaswâmi, but M. Le Beaume still had not done it. By this time M. Barthélemy had sent another peon. As I could not delay longer, I sent the peon to Vida Correa to get it done and have a Kanarese copy made of the original letter sealed by Nandi Râjâ. When this had been done, I sent the chobdar to M. Barthélemy with the Kanarese copy, the original and the French translation with a translation of Nandi Râjâ's letter to M.

Barthélemy and its original—5 papers in all—and told him to deliver them to M. Barthélemy with my salaams. He did so and informed me accordingly.

Soon after the tappal-man from Srîrangam told me that he was going back with a letter from M. Barthélemy to M. Dusaussaye, the commander there. They showed me the letter. I gave it back and told them to go. I wondered why M. Barthélemy had been in such haste for the bond. I suppose he has sent Nandi Râjâ's agreement with Paramânanda Pillai along with his sealed letter to M. Dusaussaye. Nandi Râjâ's Kanarese writing to Paramânanda Pillai is as follows [ ].

Sunday, March 9.[1]—At five o'clock this morning Mêlugiri Chetti visited me in private. He tells me that Râmayya Pillai spoke to him as follows :—'When I was outcasted, Pillai Avargal of his love procured my restoration. After this, I almost starved ; the lady [2] gave me charge of the cattle business, with a share in the profit, and made me happy. Then I became dubâsh to M. Barthélemy. Chandâ Sâhib's son made me a present of a dagger, and, when I wore it in visiting the [Governor], he

[1] *29th Mâsi, Bhava.*

[2] *Ammâl Avargal.* Perhaps Ranga Pillai's wife ; but it may mean Mme. Dupleix.

said, "Even Pariah grooms are wearing daggers," and gave me a Bunder dress of honour. For this reason I behaved as I did to Vinâyaka Pillai. Razâ Sâhib is giving me presents ; and now if only I be given a fine dress of honour, I will settle everything in a week.' Mêlugiri Chetti told me that I should give him a good present. I replied, 'You told me just now all I had done for him and how he had behaved to me. He himself has told you everything. Besides, he is our man, so what matter how he behaves? But I must tell you this. When Vinâyaka Pillai was writer in M. Dupleix' time, everything was managed without difficulty. Nevertheless when Parasurâma Pillai returned in the palankin given him by Chandâ Sâhib, he was told that he might only ride in a palankin outside the bounds and not within. How much must not M. Barthélemy have demanded for permission to use a roundel ! He will be blamed for that. I will, however, give Râmayya Pillai a dress of honour, a chain with a pendant, and a palankin and send Appâvu to conduct him home, if he brings hither the roundel that has been bestowed.' Mêlugiri Chetti then took leave, but returning at noon, said, 'I have informed Râmayya Pillai of everything and he says that your plan cannot be followed, but he will do everything in a week. M. Delarche, M. du Bausset and

Chandâ Sâhib's and Vinâyaka Pillai's people have told M. Barthélemy that you were saying you would send M. Barthélemy, M. Delarche and M. du Bausset in chains on board ship to Europe; therefore, before this happened, Vinâyaka Pillai should receive the privilege of the roundel and everything else, and possession should be taken of the country. That is why all these things have been done. [Râmayya Pillai] promises to reverse and settle all these matters in a week; he adds that M. Barthélemy intends to-morrow to give you such presents as have never before been known, and that therefore you should be pleased to come abroad to-morrow.' I replied, 'I need no presents.' Then, patting him on the back, I encouraged him, saying, 'As I told you this morning, he is my man; let him seize the roundel that has been given, and bring it to me. Then I will give him a palankin.'

At seven o'clock this evening Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti came to me, saying, 'When I visited M. Guillard, he complained that you no longer favoured him with news as you used to do, or visited him, at which he is angry. He said that M. Barthélemy's conduct was so faithless that it would certainly lead to his imprisonment, for he had done what no writer had ever done since the town

began, for he had plundered the Company, and was willing to do unheard of things for whatever was offered him, with more to that effect. M. Boyelleau also asked why you had not visited him, and I explained that you had been unwell. He replied that he had heard of your illness, but that your real reason was M. Barthélemy's behaviour ; but, said he, that does not matter, for M. de Leyrit sailed 12 days ago, the winds are fair and gentle, and he will arrive in five or six days, when many strange things may happen. He told me to advise you to have ready two lakhs of rupees of the country money,[1] and to give M. Barthélemy something, if he demands it.' This is what happened.

Tuesday, March 11.[2]—At five o'clock M. Barthélemy received a letter from Nandi Râjâ ; but it brought only the news contained in that which arrived on March 6 ; I got it translated into French and sent it to M. Barthélemy.

Salabat Jang's letter to M. Godeheu received to-day is as follows :—'I am gratified with the sword, etc., sent as presents by M. Bussy, who has returned after settling affairs in Chicacole, Rajahmundry and those parts. May M. Bussy's fame and friendship increase.' I

[1] the revenue collections.

[2] *1st Panguni, Bhava.*

got this letter of compliment translated into French, and sent it to M. Barthélemy by a chobdar. I have kept a copy in the table-drawer.

Friday, March 14.[1]—I did not go out this morning. The Englishman from Karunguli,[2] M. Barthélemy, M. Guillard and M. Boyelleau discussed their business till noon and then went home.

Saturday, March 15.[3]—Tambi[4] Kanda Pillai writes from Kârikâl that the new poligar of Kârikâl will give a nazar of 10,000 rupees, and that the revenue of the four *mâgâns* (including the tolls) has been settled for 1,20,000 rupees.

Sunday, March 16.[5]—This afternoon, M. Boyelleau sent a man for me about eight times, supposing that the Europe ship sighted at three o'clock had M. de Leyrit on board. He even had a letter written by Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti and sent it to me. Before I reached the Fort at four o'clock the drums were beating, and M. Barthélemy was going slowly

[1] *4th Panguni, Bhava.*

[2] The Commissaries at this moment were Edmund Maskelyne and Achilles Preston ; but their proceedings reveal no trace of a visit to Pondichery. The Englishman must therefore have been some other person.

[3] *5th Panguni, Bhava.*

[4] Literally 'younger brother,' but probably used here as a term of affection.

[5] *6th Panguni, Bhava.*

to the beach, having ordered the soldiers and sepoys to assemble there ; Vinâyakan and Râman followed him with blank faces. The vessel, supposed to be bringing M. de Leyrit, left Europe on August 8, and put in nowhere on the voyage.[1] The name of the ship is the *Diane*, M. Racellière[2] captain. The catamaran-people brought letters, the perusal of which lightened the faces of M. Barthélemy, M. Delarche, Vinâyakan and Râman.[3] I arrived at that moment, and immediately after, M. Barthélemy set out homewards with the standards borne in front of him. He was accompanied by M. Delarche ; and behind them went Vinâyakan and Râman and a palankin. Thus they returned home talking together. I went to the choultry on the beach, where the Europeans were assembled. In our conversation the European gentlemen said, 'As the ship did not fly the square flag on coming into the roads, and fired eleven guns, we thought that M. de Leyrit must have come. Europe ships never arrive in this month, and such a thing is most extraordinary. Ships have come for the English ; and as these two

[1] Leyrit was of course coming down from Bengal. This was a false alarm.

[2] Ranga Pillai writes 'Pilashilier' but cf. *Correspondance de Pondichéry avec Bengale,* Vol. III, p. 267. He died on the return voyage from Bengal

[3] The letters would show that the vessel came from Europe and therefore could not have Leyrit on board.

ships have arrived together, something important must have happened.' Every one then went away and I went with them to the Fort. When the ship's captain landed with the packet of letters, nine guns were fired from the ship. He went upstairs. I went to the small garden, to listen to the music there and, after spending some time merrily, came home at eleven. The packet of letters was opened in council, and I hear that it was eight o'clock before the letters had been read, after which the councillors departed.

Afterwards Vîrarâghu came and reported the following :—'Mêlugiri Chetti formerly came and asked me to write a letter to Gingee which should remain in his charge. It was arranged that he should see you, and that you should then tell M. Barthélemy and give him the letter, in return for which everything you wished should be done in eight days. He now asks why the matter is delayed, and fears that affairs may take a different turn. I replied that I could not speak again to my master, before learning his mind, on a matter that had been discussed only four days before, that nothing would prosper unless my master agreed to it, and that nothing would be got by threats, which was all that I could say[1].'

[1] The matter of this intrigue is obscure. I suppose it is not unconnected with Vinâyakan's roundel.

Mêlugiri Chetti waited till noon to visit me privately, and then said, 'You know that I was to have a letter about Gingee to be delivered to M. Barthélemy, when he should promise to do as you wish within a week. Why is the matter delayed? I fear that things may go wrong, and only Râmayya Pillai's father has prevented that till now. Now at least write the letter and give it.' I was astonished at his words. Who is he to talk to me thus without fear or forethought? I gave him rope enough to see how far he would go. But he could not understand, and talked large. Râmayya Pillai spoke to him, and he has spoken to me. Meditating this, I replied, 'What! a thing like him to threaten me! Who and what is he? When formerly he was a starving outcaste living on alms, I restored him into caste, provided for his food, made a man of him again, and introduced him into M. Barthélemy's service. Has he forgotten all this? But now that he has a little money, he has lost his wits, and acted thus and sent me witless messages. How dare he act thus? He will learn wisdom from what will befall him to-morrow. You are like a rustic selling beans, not a man who serves a gentleman or a *dorai*. The Marquis Dupleix listened to his wife's words, treated me as an enemy, and did his utmost against me. Before his time,

Kanakarâya Mudali used underhand means against me ; yet what did he achieve ? When my father was imprisoned for ten days in M. [Hébert's] time, forty or fifty thousand was spent to get the matter heard even in Europe, with the result that orders came to imprison M. [Hébert] here and put him in irons, and confiscate his property ; and he was sent in irons[1] to Europe, to receive due punishment. Such was my father. You are but a mosquito. Why should I fear your threats ? You will learn better when you go to the gallows to-morrow. As he is my man, a plant planted by me, I have borne with him all this time. How comes it that you did not know this, and behave accordingly ? Hitherto I have been patient. You are of Sunguvâr's family ; and so long as you are with [Râmayya], you must give him advice. Why do you always sing to his tunes ? Take my advice. Go.' Thus I dismissed him.

When I went to the Fort this morning, the council was examining the letters received from Europe in order to deliver them to the proper persons. As all were thus busy, I went upstairs to pay my respects to M. Barthélemy and the other councillors and then went to the sorting-godown, as there was no

[1] *Sc.*, in arrest.

need to remain when all were sitting in council. While I was there, the letters were distributed, after the letter to the council had been read. I related to M. Guillard, in the presence of M. Desfresnes, the contents of the letter I had just received from M. Duvelaer, the director of the Company in Europe, who has gone to England on an embassy from the King.[1] Râmachandra Ayyan and others were in the sorting-godown, when I opened the letter and read it. It was written with high compliments, as to an equal, telling me that I should learn all the news from the letter he would send by Father [Labustement?] He added that, as eighteen ships had been despatched to India, seven for Pondichery, three for Bengal, three for China, four for Mascareigne and one for Mahé, I must attend to getting in goods to be sent by these ships; he is looking after my interests; he is now in England; but on his return to France, he will attend to my affairs and do what is needful. On hearing this, Râmachandra Ayyan and the others declared that, never since the town was founded, had the Company written thus to its courtier, but by my good fortune the Company's director had written from England, on

[1] He was the leading person in the deputation sent in 1754 to confer with the English Company about peace.

an embassy from the King of France, with so many compliments. They said they were delighted at my receiving it.

The following matter was discussed to-day at the Council :—M. Barthélemy reported a letter from M. Porcher,[1] saying that the lands belonging to Kârikâl had not been weeded and that the banks had not been repaired, which could not be done once the waters had arisen ; he urged therefore that the lands should be let out at once so that the renter should take pains about it. But M. Boyelleau objected that it should not be done, as M. Godeheu before his departure ordered the matter to lie over till M. Leyrit's arrival from Bengal, as people might offer more than 1,20,000, which was offered at Kârikâl. M. Barthélemy observed the date of M. de Leyrit's arrival was uncertain, and that, if the matter were delayed till then, the work in the villages could not be done. At last it was decided that the matter must lie over for a week, and that, if M. de Leyrit should not arrive by then, it should be put up to outcry. I hear that letters have been despatched to Kârikâl summoning people to bid. I then went away to my office in the flower-garden.

About noon a peon came and said that M. Barthélemy wanted me. When I went, he

[1] Chief at Kârikâl.

gave me a cadjan letter of Sântappa Mudali of Karunguli to Pârpathiyam Nâranappa Ayyan of Achcharapâkkam to be translated into French. He also asked if I had translated into French Venkâji Pandit's cadjan letter about which M. Godeheu had left a note in his own hand saying he had given it to me to be translated. I replied that I had given him the original, and the French translation soon after M. Godeheu's departure. M. Barthélemy said that he did not remember it. I observed that I must have recorded it in that day's diary. 'Would you really?' he asked. 'Certainly,' I replied. 'Then, bring me a copy,' he said. I agreeing took leave, and came home. I examined my diary for February 16 among the dufters, and found there a note that I had given it. I wrote accordingly, made copies of Venkâji Pandit's cadjan letter and its French translation as written in the diary, and put them ready in the almirah.

At five o'clock this evening, I went to the Fort. As the Council was not sitting, I did not give Sântappan the original and the French translation of the cadjan letters of Venkâji Pandit and Nâchiyappa Nâyakkan; but I took to my office in the flower-garden the French translation of the cadjan letter from Karunguli given to me this afternoon by M. Barthélemy. I came home at nine o'clock.

When M. Barthélemy was returning to his house at eleven o'clock after the council had broken up, he, accompanied by M. Delarche, visited Chandâ Sâhib's house. Razâ Sâhib gave M. Barthélemy a dress of honour, a *bâju-band*[1] set with precious stones, and a pendant, as presents, and a dress of honour and a *sarpêch* to M. Delarche, after which they were dismissed.

When I went to my office in the flower-garden at five this evening, I wrote a reply to M. du Rocher's letter to me from Maduranta-kam, had it despatched and put the copy among my French papers.

Wednesday, March 19.[2]—At sunrise before going to the Fort at seven o'clock this morning, I examined the foundation which is being laid for a kitchen on the south side of my house. When I went to the Fort, the Germans had three new standards ready to be consecrated there. M. Barthélemy had invited the councillors and others to a feast. M. Barthélemy, etc., the German officers, captains, etc., M. Pichard, and others, and even the *peruppânai*,[3] heard mass. The German soldiers were formed in line and fired three volleys; and

[1] A bracelet.

[2] *9th Panguni, Bhava.*

[3] Literally, the great pot. Perhaps we should read *Perupillai*, the Great Pillai, *i.e.*, the time-serving Râmayya.

three salutes of 21 guns were fired. After the ceremony of consecration, the flags were carried out and displayed, at which all thrice shouted *Vive le roi* and the old flags and the poles were burnt. All then dispersed. It is the name day of the Marquis Dupleix. If he had remained here, there would have been great firing of guns and cannon, feasts, illuminations, fireworks, and so on; but as he is gone, there was none of these.

Friday, March 21.[1]—The following news arrived this evening by letter from vakîl Tyâgayyan's younger brother at Srîrangam. One letter, dated [March] 12, says:—'Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English who marched southwards,[2] have captured Madura fort; Mudâmiah [and] four [others] fled to the south; but were pursued. Muhammad 'Alî, etc., have occupied the middle country and even advanced to Tinnevelly which has been seized. They intend to march against Sêtupati with the aid of the Râjâ of Tanjore and the Tondimân. Hearing this, Nandi Râjâ sent a message to the commander complaining that the 18 months' time was enforced only against himself, and asking why he should sit still like a helpless man while Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English attacked his ally

[1] *11th Panguni, Bhava.*
[2] This relates to Heron's expedition to Madura.

Sêtupati, and captured his possessions, Madura and other places.'

The letter, dated [March] 13, says about the appointment of Varadarâja Reddi as the new poligar of Turaiyûr, that when a lakh of rupees was demanded for the Company, 30,000 rupees for expenses at Pondichery, and 25,000 rupees for the expenses of the commander—1,60,000 rupees in all—Nandi Râjâ replied that part of the Company's lakh had already been paid, that he would pay the balance, and that he had required Varadâ Reddi to pay 60,000 rupees, but the latter would pay only a portion immediately and the balance after he had been installed as poligar.

The letter of [March] 16 says:— 'M. Dusaussaye, the commander, wrote to the Râjâ of Tanjore that he ought not to attack Sêtupati before the expiry of the 18 months, and that his troops must be recalled. Nandi Râjâ has received presents from the Turaiyûr poligar for his installation; but the commandant at Trichinopoly disapproves. Nevertheless they have been kept ready to be sent on his arrival. Mîr Sâhib of Elavânasûr sent a confidential man to Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Trichinopoly and secured a lease of Elavânasûr for 10 or 12 years at an annual rent of 40,000 rupees. The commander visiting the fort, complained that, as they had agreed that there

should be no war for 18 months, they should not help Muhammad 'Alî Khân to capture Madura, Nadumandalam and Tinnevelly, or to attack Sêtupati. Thereupon they agreed to withdraw their troops in a week. But when they had sent M. Dusaussaye, the commandant, back to Srîrangam, they ordered Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops in the south to capture Tinnevelly at once, and return, leaving a garrison there. Appâji Pandit, the Turaiyûr vakîl, is treating about Turaiyûr, but the affair goes badly. Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English are said to be about to march to Arcot.' There was added an account of the country watered by the Cauvery.

Varadarâja Reddi, the new poligar of Turaiyûr, has written to me with compliments that, as the former man was disobedient and troublesome, refusing the peshkash, and killing two or three of the Company's servants, Nandi Râjâ has been pleased to give Turaiyûr to the writer, who prays for my support also.

Monday, March 24.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning, where M. Barthélemy and the other councillors were assembled; so I paid my respects and went to my office in the flower-garden, where I received letters from Gurumûrti Ayyan, younger brother of Tyâgayyan,

[1] *14th Panguni, Bhava.*

at Srîrangam. The letter of [March] 17 says :—Nandi Râjâ summoned commandant Dusaussaye, and asked him whether Turaiyûr Varadarâja Reddi should be appointed poligar of Turaiyûr. The commander agreed, provided that a lakh should be given to the Company, 35,000 to the Governor, and 25,000 to the councillors. Nandi Râjâ replied that he would write about this to Pondichery. The commander departed, saying that it could be done after orders had been received. Nandi Râjâ then sent Ayyamperumâl Pillai to Turaiyûr, and will send Haidar 'Alî Khân to-morrow, as he means to appoint Varadarâja Reddi's son poligar. Varadarâja Reddi's man has visited the commander offering for the Governor of Pondichery a yearly nazar of 12,000 rupees, 25,000 for the councillors for this year only, and over 15,000 for the commandant and the darbâr expenses, and saying that the people of Appâji Pandit (the Turaiyûr vakîl) should not be allowed to show their faces. The commandant has more or less agreed. The Europeans who came in five palankins from Trichinopoly, returned in the evening after eating.

The letter of [March] 18 says :—In consequence of the commandant's former letter to the Râjâ of Tanjore, desiring the recall of the

men sent against Vellaiyan Sêrvaikâran[1], orders have been sent to the fort-people for their return. No poligar has yet been appointed for Turaiyûr. Râmalinga Pillai, Savarirâya Pillai, and Bâpi Chetti the Kômutti, who left Pondichery on Thursday, are on their way.

The letter of [March] 20 is as follows :—When the Turaiyûr vakîl visited the commandant, [the latter] asked him for 35,000 for the Governor, 25,000 for the councillors, and 30,000 for the expenses of the commander —90,000 in all ; but this was not agreed to ; so the commandant sent for Appâji Pandit, the old poligar's vakîl. Appâji Pandit has not yet arrived. But Varadarâja Reddi has sent a vakîl to this place[2]; and Ayyamperumâl Pillai has been appointed dîwân. Nandi Râjâ has sent respectable persons with a horse, a gold bangle, and a dress of honour, to invest him with the office. The man sent by the Râjâ of Tanjore to assist the poligar of Ariyalûr is at Tirumalavâdi. Mandumiyân[3] has joined Vellaiyan Sêrvaikâran, and his wife and family have been imprisoned in Madura fort. Twenty lakhs have been seized by his people and three lakhs were secured by Muhammad Alî Khân for his expenses.

[1] Dalavâi of Sêtupati; *Madura District Manual*, Part III, p. 271.
[2] Pondichery.
[3] Mudâmiah ?

Tuesday, March 25.[1]—M. Duval de Leyrit, the *Directeur* of Bengal, arrived by a ship at seven o'clock this morning off Vîrâmpattanam[2]. A square flag was flown on her main mast. The old flag at the Fort was hauled down and a new one hoisted. Then the *générale* was beaten, and the soldiers and officers assembled. I myself went down to the Beach, at seven, and, sending for Vinâyaka Pillai and Nallappa Nayinâr, told them to erect plantain trees and tie coconut leaves, on both sides of the way up to the Fort gate, then to cut the *kôrai*[3] in the ditch and spread it in the middle, and over this to lay 20 pieces of bleached long-cloth. Afterwards M. Boyelleau, M. Desfresnes, M. Goupil, M. Solminiac and M. Pichard, the commander of the German troops, went to meet him in a chelinga provided with seats[4]; and when they reached the ship, a salute of 21 guns was fired from the Fort, and the ships in the roads also saluted. M. Leyrit's ship replied to them ; and at nine o'clock,

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[1] *15th Panguni, Bhava.*

This passage down to the end of the diary for March 29 is repeated, with minor variations, at pages 1—20, Volume XII of the Madras transcript.

[2] The latter copy gives the name of the vessel as the Company's ship *l'Indien*, M. Bouchez commander.

[3] A kind of long grass.

[4] The chelinga, or masula-boat, being intended for carrying cargo, rather than passengers, was not usually provided with seats.

when she was off the town, she fired a salute of 11 guns which was returned by the Fort with an equal number ; at half-past nine when M. Leyrit got into the chelinga, his ship fired 21 guns, which were answered by all the other ships. M. Barthélemy, M. Delarche and others then went down to the Beach ; the chelinga reached the shore, and M. Leyrit landed. M. Barthélemy and the rest paid their respects to him, and he returned his compliments. As he approached with all ceremony and entered the sea-gate, a salute of 21 guns was fired, and all then went upstairs in the Fort. I also accompanied them. After waiting there for a quarter of an hour, when the councillors had brought the King's orders appointing M. Leyrit, and the soldiers had been drawn up opposite the *Gouvernement* in the Fort, all went thither in order, the letter was opened, and the Secretary read the order for all to hear. All thrice shouted *Vive le roi*, and 21 guns were fired. When M. Leyrit was turning to go upstairs, I offered him two limes with my compliments. He took them pleasantly, and, having thanked me, went upstairs. I accompanied him. He examined the building, and told M. Barthélemy that it was fine. M. Barthélemy invited him to breakfast. He accepted, and, getting into the state palankin, he went first with music and all pomp followed by M. Barthélemy.

When he reached M. Barthélemy's house, I went to my office in the flower-garden and then came home.

Wednesday, *March 26*.[1]—At seven o'clock this morning I went to the Fort, where were assembled the councillors, Tânappa Mudali (Kanakarâya Mudali's younger brother), the newly-appointed Nayinâr Nallappa, the Choultry-writer, Madanânda Pandit and others. When M. Leyrit had waked, dressed, and come out, all went and paid their respects. I did so too. A box of letters and records packed in gunny, and which had been brought from Bengal was opened; and when the Governor had examined them, the councillors, officers, captains, writers, etc., paid their respects and departed. The Armenian Johannes (Coja Elias' son-in-law) and others did the same. Five or six priests of the Capuchins' church also visited him, but he did not speak with them at length, only exchanging compliments. The Bishop from Cochin-China also paid his respects; then the Superior of St. Paul's church came, but had to wait before paying his respects; so he came to me and said, 'There is a place called Sadâsiva Pillai's Panikkankuppam under Venkatâmpêttai; it is a Christian village, and Protestant priests from Tranquebar dwell

[1] *16th Panguni, Bhava.*

there under the protection of Sadâsiva Pillai of Venkatâmpêttai, and preach their religion to the annoyance of the Christians[1] there. The revenue of the village cannot be even 20 or 30 pagodas; and, if it were rented to me, the Christians would pay the rent and the Protestants would be unable to continue there and would go away. When I spoke to M. Godeheu about it, he said that he would give it free; but as he has gone away, be pleased to do us the favour of getting it for us.' I replied, 'Louis Prakâsan has already spoken to me about this and I said something or other to him. But if you will send for him now, I will question him about it, and send the necessary orders, to prevent the Protestants from little by little spreading their religion.' The priest then visited the Governor, spoke with him a few moments, and went away. M. Barthélemy has frequently visited and talked with the Governor. When M. Boyelleau and M. Lenoir were with the Governor, I went to the Council Hall and paid my respects. He returned my compliments. M. Boyelleau then said that the Governor wanted to speak to me about affairs. M. Leyrit then asked about the two lakhs of rupees of revenue due on March 30 according to the terms of the agreement.

[1] *Sc.* Roman Catholic.

M. Boyelleau replied, 'He will pay two lakhs of rupees, but it will consist of several kinds of pagodas and fanams as received from the country. The pagodas must be changed into rupees, and the fanams will have to be sent to the proper places to be changed into pagodas, which must be changed into rupees here. Madras rupees are of lower touch than ours and therefore will not be current here. So Ranga Pillai says that the money shall be paid, partly in rupees and partly in pagodas.' The Governor observed that I had agreed to pay rupees and that four lakhs of rupees had to be sent to Bengal. I replied that only three lakhs of rupees need be sent to Bengal, and the remainder kept in pagodas here in the chest to meet the expenses. The Governor asked if there would not be a loss over the exchange. I replied, 'Why should there be loss? The Company's merchants receive advances on their contract in pagodas; and they may be kept for that.'—'That is possible,' he said. I then continued, 'Three lakhs and a half may be sent instead of four; for two lakhs and sixty thousand rupees will be paid in from the mint, and I will pay a lakh, so that three lakhs and sixty thousand rupees may be sent.'—'Well,' the Governor replied, 'you may carry on your work without anxiety.' I thanked him. M. Barthélemy

who had been outside came in and showed the Governor a writing. After reading it, the Governor went out with him to the Secretary's room, where Kanakarâya Mudali's younger brother's adopted son, the choultry-writers, Madanânda Pandit and his people, and Vinâyaka Pillai, came and presented him with limes. M. Barthélemy talked all the time; the Governor said nothing, not even looking at me or nodding his head. He then came back and told me to look after the lands and the Company's business as in M. Godeheu's time. M. Boyelleau said to M. Leyrit that as, after M. Godeheu's departure, I had not been treated well, I had been eagerly expecting his arrival without transacting any business, and that I had been hoping for some encouragement from him. Thereon M. Leyrit turning to me said that I might depend on him so long as I attended to the Company's affairs as in M. Godeheu's time and since, and managed the countries; that in two or three days, he would do as I desired; and that there was no need to be anxious. I thanked him and said that I would do accordingly. So I came away. The Governor went into the further room, and M. Barthélemy who had seen all this, went away to his house with a down-cast look, after inviting him to a meal. M. Desfresnes then came with the minutes of

Council and went away after obtaining the Governor's signature. M. Boyelleau also departed. Having taken leave of him, I went to M. Guillard's office to pay him 3,000 star pagodas and 2,000 Porto Novo pagodas—5,000 in all—and desired him with compliments to give them to the money-changers and enter in my accounts to day their value in rupees according to the current rate. He promised politely to do so and dismissed me. I took leave, went to my office in the flower-garden, and thence came home.

Thursday, March 27.[1]—When I went to the Fort at seven o'clock this morning, I paid my respects to M. Duval de Leyrit, the Commander-General, as he was returning to the *Gouvernement* from Church with the councillors, officers, *sous-marchands* and others at nine o'clock on account of the feast. Having returned my compliments, he went upstairs with the rest into the central hall where all paid their respects to him, but he did not seem to return their compliments or speak to them. He seemed to be examining and admiring the manner of the building, decorations and structure, for he had no eyes for anything else. In spite of this, M. Barthélemy persisted in talking to him, but for all that the Governor neither

[1] *17th Panguni, Bhava. Kâsuperunâl* [*i.e.*, Maundy Thursday]. *See* Vol. VI, p. 427, n. 1, *supra.*

nodded nor smiled nor looked pleased. I was astonished at this. He then went into the large verandah, outside on the south, and examined the workmanship with interest. When I was there, M. Lenoir, the councillor who went up to Bengal from here and accompanied M. Leyrit back, came to me and said that this place had little trade, and was famine-stricken. I replied, 'What else can be expected when the country is full of troubles and famine? The trade has been ruined by politics. Now that M. Leyrit has come as Governor, it will flourish again.' M. Lenoir replied, 'When I was in Bengal, I often told M. Leyrit about you, your ability and character; I also spoke to him, when we were sailing here, and he always spoke favourably of you and your affairs, and is so inclined towards you that he will assist your affairs to the utmost, as I will too.' I replied with such compliments as to increase his joy and his affection to me. M. Boyelleau then approached me and said, 'I have spoken to the Governor about you. Why do you always wait to be sent for instead of attending the Governor and explaining affairs to him? I never saw any one like you. My tongue aches with speaking to the Governor about you. In M. Godeheu's time, you never visited him unless he sent for you. That was wrong of you. Do as I tell you. Tell him of your own

accord what should be done, and attend to your affairs.' I replied smoothly, 'I have kept quiet as I do not know his nature; if I knew him, should I wait till I was sent for? You know my nature.' M. Leyrit, who had watched my conversation with M. Boyelleau and M. Lenoir, then called me up and asked me where some cadjan letters had come from. I replied that they had come in the tappal from Kârikâl in the south, for merchants and others. Thereon he told me to distribute them and went to his room to write letters. M. Barthélemy afterwards went in to talk with him, but he was sent away as the Governor was busy with his letters. He then went home. I also went downstairs and went to M. Guillard's place. He observed, 'M. Leyrit is very close, and only acts with deliberation. He will take every plan to pieces. So you too must remember this and refrain from hasty proposals. Then only your affairs will prosper.' He continued, 'You have sent me 5,000 pagodas—3,000 Star and 2,000 Porto Novo. They will not pass here but we will do our best. I have entered 16,000 rupees[1] received in your account.' I replied politely, 'Thank you for your kindness. I have also sent some pagodas and fanams Madras way to

[1] The second copy says 19,000 rupees.

be exchanged for rupees, so I am not idle.' Then, taking leave, I went to my office in the flower-garden, and on the stroke of noon, I came home, bathed, ate and went to sleep. A peon came and said that the Governor wanted me. When I went, M. Leyrit gave me a letter from Nandi Râjâ to be translated into French. I took it, and gave him a French translation of the letter from M. Pigot, Governor of Madras, dated the [24th] instant and given to me by M. Barthélemy to be translated into French. The Governor took them, and went out for a drive. I went to the Beach, then to my office in the flower-garden, and at last came home.

Saturday, *March 29*.[1]—When I went to the Fort at seven o'clock this morning, M. Leyrit the Governor, the councillors, officers, writers, etc., had gone to the Church whence, when new water and fire had been blessed, the bell rung, and all had been finished, they returned. The Governor went up to the central hall of the *Gouvernement*, whither all went and paid their respects including myself. While the Governor was talking with M. Barthélemy, M. Desfresnes and M. Delarche, I and M. Lenoir were talking in the southern verandah about business. M. La Touche came up and said, 'M. Leyrit has 15 or 20 candies of Olibanum

[1] *19th Pañguni, Bhava.*

from Ormuz. It is of good quality. Try and sell it here.' I replied, 'The troubles here have reduced the trade to Arcot and other places. The traffic is small. No one will buy it here. It should be sent to Mocha.' He replied, 'That can only be done next year. M. Leyrit told me to ask you. Try therefore to sell it here.' I said I could promise nothing about it.

Just then M. Leyrit, who was in the central hall, called me by name. When I went up to him, he said, 'During the troubles between the English and the French, and on October 11, 1754, the Karunguli taluk, consisting of upwards of 360 villages, was in French possession. On October 15 the English began to trouble the management. The writing in M. Delarche's hand contains what was said in Council yesterday.' M. Delarche said that writer Ranga Pillai had the three cadjan letters written by amaldâr Venkâji Pandit and Elaichiyappa Mudali about these disturbances caused by the English. M. Leyrit turned to me and said, 'Get the cadjans from him and bring me French translations of them.' I replied, 'From the day when the fighting ceased up to November, the English exercised no authority in the Utramallûr country, Wandiwash, Vêttavalam, etc., places, in Karunguli, but only in the Karungulipâlaiyam and the town

of Madurantakam. Since October 15, some of their guards and sepoys in Karunguli fort and Madurantakam have been marching out, seizing cattle and creating disturbances. Therefore our amaldârs collected forces in order to take possession of their country of Madurantakam and hoist flags in our own villages. They wrote cadjan letters accordingly to the jemadars.' M. Delarche said, 'That is true. When Pâpayya Pillai in August delivered up to me possession of the places he was managing, we had 70 villages in the Karunguli country. M. Véry, having collected a few German and French soldiers, marched against Merkânam, Chûnâmpet and other places in the Karunguli country. Consequently the English manigars, peons, etc., in the several places fled.'

APRIL 1755.

Wednesday, April 2.[1]—When I was eating my cold rice this morning, Kulasêkharam Venkatanâranappa Ayyan came and said, ' When I went to Vinâyaka Pillai's house last night, he was holding *kacherî* ; he had sent for the Mysore vakîl Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, Krishnappan (Morâri Râo's vakîl), the Pandit Gôvindan (Bhâji Râo's vakîl), Nârôji, the old Nayinâr and his other friends. They all arrived as Râman, M. Barthélemy's dubâsh, was talking. Vinâyaka Pillai told them gladly that he had been appointed chief dubâsh, Pâpayya Pillai manager of the country, and M. Barthélemy entrusted with the general superintendence ; and that the Governor would give them presents next day, so that they all should come to visit him. He said he would arrange for the Company's merchants and *mahânâttârs* to visit the Governor to-morrow. He boasted of his cleverness, and told them all to come back at six o'clock, having provided gowns and turbans for those who should give them, and mohurs, rupees, etc., to be given as nazars to the Governor, and appropriate presents if the chief dubâshship should be given,

[1] *23rd Panguni, Bhava.*

and others if only a cane should be given, and otherwise dresses of honour.' I asked him to find out the truth and inform me. He went accordingly, and reported to me that Vinâyaka Pillai in great joy had taken to the Fort all those who had come to his house. Afterwards I went to the Fort, and, on my way, I saw all assembled at M. Barthélemy's house. The Governor was just going upstairs to receive his guests, after visiting the Capuchins' church, St. Paul's church and last of all the Mission church. I paid my respects and waited there. The Governor was talking to the Europeans—M. Desfresnes, M. [Lenoir], M. Goupil, M. Dubois, M. Bury and others, when M. Barthélemy arrived. I desired him to arrange for the Company's merchants to visit the Governor. I was told that he would speak about it this evening and that the visit might be paid to-morrow. When I was waiting after I had dismissed them, Vinâyaka Pillai, the Mysore vakîl and Morâri Râo's vakîl, etc., arrived. The Governor went into his room with M. Barthélemy who talked to him along with M. Desfresnes and M. Lenoir. I was also present. M. Barthélemy then told him that the vakîls had come to visit him. The Governor turning to me told me to send for them. I sent Srînivâsa Râo for them. But when he went, Vinâyaka Pillai told them not to go. As the

Mysore vakîl, Venkatanâranappa Ayyan is a Tamil, and knows what has been going forward, he disregarded Vinâyaka Pillai's words, and, getting up, came in deeming it improper to stay when sent for. Morâri Râo's and Bhâji Râo's vakîls came with him. Mysore Venkatanâranappa Ayyan and Krishna Râo presented the Governor with a nazar of 11 mohurs each and Bhâji Râo's vakîl with one of 7 mohurs. When the nazars had been accepted, I told the three to be seated. They then spoke with compliments about their affairs. I repeated to the Governor what they said and returned his compliments to them. Meanwhile Vinâyaka Pillai came in with 21 mohurs and 21 rupees on a tray which he presented to the Governor, and then stood aside. When the vakîls had been given rose water and *pân supârî* with their dismissal, Râman brought a dress of honour on a tray, which he gave to M. Barthélemy with some words. M. Barthélemy, receiving it, desired the Governor to touch it and give it to Vinâyaka Pillai. The Governor then went into a room with M. Barthélemy who talked to him. When the latter came out, he met Vinâyaka Pillai at the door and took him in to the Governor to let him speak a few words of respect, after which he went home with the others. I then went in and said, 'You have done a very wise thing. This

man is a thief who has robbed the Company of lakhs of money. Many complaints against him were presented to M. Godeheu ; and some have been made to me since M. Godeheu's departure. Although the man who should rightfully have been appointed to his place in the management of affairs is now at Cuddalore, yet Vinâyaka Pillai won over M. Barthélemy and others with bribes to misrepresent the case ; you therefore gave presents, believing what was said. In these circumstances, how can my management prosper ?' The Governor replied, 'Why did you not tell me all this before ? How else could I know ?' I replied, 'I have not seen you enough to know your nature ; nor did you send for me to question me about all this. How then could I have known your wishes and reported all matters ? I was able to satisfy M. Lenoir, M. Dumas and M. Dupleix because they followed my advice. I never visit the councillors nor do I serve others. I deal direct with the Governor, nor do I visit others with gifts. Many complained to M. Godeheu against M. Dupleix ; among them was this Vinâyakan. On this M. Godeheu summoned and questioned me. But I neither wrote nor complained. When he went away, M. Dupleix complimented me suitably. Thus I have used my whole strength on behalf of him who governed, seeking only his gain,

and satisfying myself with the glory. If now you also will listen to no advice but mine, and act accordingly, I will strive for your profit and win your favour.' In his delight he promised me his protection, calling on God to witness what he said, vowing to do nothing without consulting me. I replied, 'If you only do as I say in all affairs, I will so conduct you as to bring you gain.' I then explained fully to the Governor the character of all here, and the profits they make with proof of everything, as well as affairs at Kârikâl and Masulipatam, Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr, and about the villages comprised in the four *mâgâns* of Kârikâl. The Governor ordered me to come to him at half-past six to-morrow morning, when he would discuss everything with me and do as should appear best. He then gave me leave and I departed.

Chinnu Mudali presently returned after visiting the Governor. I came home.

I hear that a complaint has been presented to the Governor, in his palankin, against Vinâyakan by Black Muttayyan's younger brother. The Governor read and kept it.

At four o'clock M. Reyne came, and with his help I wrote out in French an account of what took place between M. Godeheu's

departure and M. Leyrit's arrival.[1] Having added a few details, I went to my office in the flower-garden with the petitions given me to be presented to the Governor to-morrow morning. I got them all written by M. Reyne, and then sent him to his house, and myself remained in the office.

While I was still there, M. Desfresnes sent a message that he would settle with the Governor about the presents to be given to me when the *mahânâttârs* paid their visit the day after to-morrow, and that I should say what I desired. I sent the following message with compliments :—'I have already been given all honour, I desire only one thing more. As I am the Governor of all the Tamils, and you and the Governor know what respect should be shown to me, let the Governor order the *tambour* to be beaten at the Fort and town-gates in my honour. If you will be pleased to speak to the Governor about this, I shall never forget your kindness.' Such was my answer.

Thursday, April 3.[2]—The following is the message sent this morning by M. Desfresnes

[1] This is probably the document a copy of which I was permitted to see, among other papers, by the courtesy of the owner, M. Gallois-Montbrun, at Pondicherry. I understand that this most interesting collection of papers suffered much damage during the cyclone of 1916. I print the document as an appendix to this volume. It is dated March 29 ; perhaps Reyne only revised the diarist's draft.

[2] *24th Panguni, Bhava.*

in reply to mine of last night :—'When the Governor, M. Boyelleau and I were talking at table, we said to him that presents were usually given to the courtier when the Company's merchants visited the Governor, and that this should be done when the merchants visited him to-morrow. He asked us what should be given. We said that a *turra*, *sarpêch*, chain and pendant, four pieces of scarlet broad-cloth of the best quality and an 18-yard piece of Europe cloth of gold costing 30 pagodas a yard, should be given, with a salute of 15 guns. "I will do so to-morrow," he said. If we had received your message, we might have discussed it; but as we had not, the other matter could not be mentioned, and we sent word to you last night.'

All things were being got ready at the Fort this morning. I took the Company's merchants, the new Nayinâr, and Bâpu Râo of the tobacco-godown, thither at seven o'clock, and they visited the Governor at eight. The Company's merchants presented him with a cloth worth 100 pagodas and a diamond ring worth 220 pagodas; my Appâvu with 200 on account of his country management; Salatu Venkatâchala Chetti with 50 pagodas and a roll of silk; Bâpu Râo with 50 pagodas; and the Nayinâr with a roll of China silk. When all had offered their nazars, he put round my

neck with his own hands a chain with a pendant, tied the *turra* and *sarpêch*, gave me four pieces of the finest broadcloth and 18 yards of cloth of gold, and ordered a salute of 15 guns. The others were given rosewater and *pân supârî*, and dismissed with orders to obey me. I came home with them and the presents, accompanied by music and other marks of honour, distributed *pân supârî*, and gave them leave.

Just then four chobdars and a head-peon said that the Governor wanted me. Immediately I got into my palankin and visited the Governor at the Fort. He asked me about the contents of a cadjan letter received from Karungulipâlaiyam on October 3 and delivered to the Governor with a French translation which I had mentioned to M. Barthélemy. I replied that writer Rangappa Mudali must know as he was the manager of the country; and the latter said that he would report everything in the evening.

Afterwards the Governor took me aside and questioned me about Villiyanallûr, Bâhûr and Kârikâl. I replied, 'M. Godeheu at M. Boyelleau's request said that these two affairs should be managed by Venkatâchala Chetti. So I settled 20,000 pagodas for Villiyanallûr, and Bâhûr, and 80,000 rupees for the four *mâgâns* of Kârikâl. But M. Porcher wrote

saying that 1,20,000 rupees had been offered by the Kârikâl people for the four *mâgâns*, Tirumalrâyapatnam (which Chinnu Mudali has on lease) and Kîlavèli with the tolls. Venkatâchala Chetti then offered 1,30,000 [rupees]. Then, when M. Godeheu had sailed for Europe, M. Delarche and M. du Bausset told M. Barthélemy that, as M. Dupleix' jaghir was being managed by Rangappa Mudali, the taluks of Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr should not be given to any one but Vinâyaka Pillai; and they proposed 23,000 pagodas for the two taluks. M. Barthélemy agreed, and proposed the matter in Council. But M. Guillard, M. Boyelleau and M. Desfresnes objected that before M. Godeheu's departure, he had been managing Villiyanallûr, Bâhûr and Kârikâl affairs by Venkatâchala Chetti's means and that the matter should not be settled till your arrival. After a delay of a few days, M. Barthélemy again opened the subject in Council and proposed that it should be settled at outcry. When matters stood thus, you arrived, and decided that it should be done accordingly.' When I thus related M. Godeheu's intentions in order to convince M. de Leyrit, the latter after a pause asked why I had not reported this to him before. I replied, 'Because I did not know your nature. My habit is to take the Governor's pleasure and

not to mind other people.' The Governor replied, 'It has been resolved to sell the farm at outcry. The Arumpâtai[1] has offered 22,100, so it must fetch upwards of 23,000. But as this decision has been taken, why mention Kârikâl and Venkatâchala Chetti? Let it be written in your name.' I replied, 'I mentioned Venkatâchala Chetti only because M. Godeheu spoke to me about him for the sake of M. Boyelleau; but I am here to obey.' He answered, 'It should be in your name, but the matter is to be settled at outcry; so what can be done?' He then called his secretary. The Governor talked with him for about an hour and then sat down at table. I took leave and came home.

Friday, April 4.[2]—At seven o'clock this morning I went to the Fort and paid my respects to the Governor who was alone. He asked the news. I gave him the three petitions I was carrying—the first presented by Black Muttayyan about his imprisonment by Vinâyaka Pillai; the second given by Bangâru, his uncle, when he was afterwards rebuked, with M. Godeheu's orders requiring me to examine the matter fully and report to him; and the third given by Black Muttayyan

[1] *i.e.*, Vinâyaka Pillai. [2] *25th Panguni, Bhava.*

and Parasurâma Pillai. [I said,] 'Black Muttayyan was in my custody when M. Godeheu directed me to inquire about him ; but while I was doing so, M. Godeheu departed. Then Vinâyaka Pillai sent peons to fetch Muttayyan from my house to the Fort without telling me ; on which I went to M. Barthélemy, M. Boyelleau and others and reported what Vinâyaka Pillai had done. Thereon M. Barthélemy sent for Vinâyaka Pillai and said, "Rangappan alone has authority to take men out of any house. How dare you send peons to bring Muttayyan from Rangappan's house without telling him ? I will tie you up and give you 50 stripes." I told him that his mere threat was equal to a beating, and took my leave. Two or three days afterwards, M. Barthélemy himself ordered Black Muttayyan to be seized and put into the dungeon, where he still continues, and yesterday he was not even allowed out for his food. This Vinâyakan plundered all the Company's goods, and gave them away to stop men's mouths. He presented a petition to M. Godeheu saying that I had given M. Dupleix 1,50,000 rupees at the time of his departure. On this fellow's word, M. Barthélemy has put Black Muttayyan in dungeon not even allowing him out for his food.' The Governor grew angry at these words, and he said, 'What business of M.

Barthélemy is this? This Vinâyakan is only one of the 70 writers. Who allowed him to use palankin and roundel? and who empowered him to imprison or beat any man?'

Then I reported in detail the affairs of Kârikâl, Bunder and the town, and, requesting his patience, I said, 'Many things have to be done; and if you will but attend to business strictly, without allowing influence to others, and if you will listen to me alone, you and the Company will gain greatly, while you will earn the Company's gratitude.' The Governor answered, 'I will do this. I will give you Villiyanallûr, Bâhûr and Kârikâl; and will discuss all matters with you at leisure before I do anything.'

The *mahânâttârs* then came. I introduced them, gave them rosewater and *pân supârî*, and, giving the Governor their petition about the temple together with the Chettis' petition, addressed him with compliments; then I sent the *mahânâttârs* home with Appâvu, but myself remained. M. Barthélemy then brought a petition which he gave to the Governor and talked to him. M. Desfresnes came to me and said, 'M. Barthélemy wrote to me asking why Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr have not been sold at outcry. I took the letter to M. de Leyrit, and asked him what reply should be given. He told me none was necessary. I asked him

what I should say if M. Barthélemy asked why I had not answered his letter. He replied that I should tell him that it was no business of his.' Comparing M. Desfresnes' words with the Governor's, I perceived the Governor's intention, and, taking leave, I went to my office in the flower-garden, and thence came home.

This evening, when I was in my office in the flower-garden, two Europeans (whose names I do not know) came at eight o'clock and gave me a box of attar for Annâswâmi, and said, 'This afternoon M. Barthélemy presented a petition to the Governor offering 25,000 pagodas for a village[1] under you, but M. Leyrit refused, whereon M. Barthélemy went away shamefaced.' I heard this afternoon that all last night Vinâyaka Pillai was writing a petition, which he took this morning to M. Delarche at his *comptoir* to be corrected, and sent to M. Barthélemy by Saravana Mudali. I think he proposed 25,000 for the Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr countries. This is the news.

Sunday, April 6.[2]—I visited the Governor this morning, when he asked me if his seal had been finished. I said it would be ready in three days.

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[1] *Sic.* But see below.

[2] *27th Panguni, Bhava.*

Then he asked about the complaints written by the European at Utramallûr against the amaldâr of that place. I replied, 'For the sake of ten fanams, the European there with the help of some people is hindering the amaldâr's work, and then writes here after raising disturbances there. This sort of thing happened in M. Dupleix' time; and he, knowing all this, ordered the commandant not to interfere with the country or the amaldâr, but look after the fort and troops, obtaining what he needed from the amaldâr. M. Godeheu did the same.'

He then continued, 'Porto Novo is a sea-port; could such a thing happen there?' I replied, 'The merchants there have agreed to pay in ready money; but if disputes arise, they may offer to pay in kind; so if Europeans interfere, how can the Company get money? I have leased out the whole country.' Thereupon the Governor wrote in his own hand how the Europeans should behave, and returned the several letters to M. Chevreau, telling him to add it to the four letters and despatch them.

Yesterday afternoon, I sent for writer Rangappa Mudali and told him to bring the inhabitants of the Villiyanallûr, Bâhûr and Valudâvûr countries to visit the Governor. He replied that they had already visited the Governor four times this year, at the festival,

etc., and asked how they could pay him another visit. I replied in anger, 'How dare you contradict me? Is the country yours or is it in your charge? You are but a writer, and must obey me, instead of doing as you please. So bring them all to-morrow morning to visit the Governor.' He then said that he had no money. I asked him where was the money collected from the country. He replied that he had paid it all in yesterday. I then told him to borrow. He asked what should be done about M. Dupleix' jaghir, Valudâvûr. I advised him to speak to M. Delarche about it and do as he advised. So he went, and, returning in about half an hour, said that he had received orders. I then told him to bring them all this morning. Accordingly a messenger came and said that Rangappa Mudali had come with all and requested a gate-pass for the Fort. I got one and sent him away with it. Then the Villiyanallûr, Bâhûr and Valudâvûr people came with music and dancing, and I presented them to the Governor. The Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr people gave a nazar of 100 gold mohurs according to custom, and the Valudâvûr people the same. The Ariyânkuppam people gave a nazar of 11 pagodas. All then received rosewater and *pân supârî*, and, before taking leave, they said, 'We have lived under the French flag for 5 years

receiving our share of the crop without disputes. Be pleased to allow this to continue.' They were told that it should be so, and sent away.

When all had gone, the Governor asked me if I had brought any letters. I replied, 'There are several, which may be dealt with one by one.' He then went into his room. Vinâyaka Pillai then brought him a letter and talked with him. As Savarirâyan and Râmalinga Pillai were waiting outside, I think that Vinâyaka Pillai's letter proposed sending them to Srîrangam. Then I took leave and came home at noon.

I think the Governor asked about the letters because of my promise on the 4th to give him an account of all that had been done in M. Barthélemy's time, but this did not occur to me at the moment.

Monday, April 7.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, the Governor was going about the Fort inspecting the *comptoir*, liquor, broad-cloth and cloth-godowns besides the armoury and various other godowns. Lastly he inspected the sorting-godown. He smiled when he saw the stage erected, and, going upstairs, called for me. When I went, he asked about Nandi Râjâ, Pâpayya Pillai and

[1] *28th Panguni, Bhava.*

the country affairs. I replied, 'Nandi Râjâ still owes a balance of 22 lakhs of rupees to us, and to Morâri Râo ten or twelve lakhs. M. Godeheu promised to pay Morâri Râo when Nandi Râjâ paid his dues. Salabat Jang has been claiming three or four crores as due to him; he has obtained four or five lakhs from the Nawâbs of Cuddapah, Kandanûr and Adoni, but has spent this on his camp; and he is marching towards Mysore to satisfy his claims. The Râjâ of Mysore and Nandi Râjâ are on ill-terms, as the latter owes us large sums and has spent here four crores without the Râjâ's permission. And Nandi Râjâ blames us in every letter, but ignores what he owes us.' The Governor replied that all this could be settled when Nandi Râjâ came here.

I then continued, 'M. Godeheu's first object was to secure peace; so in October he agreed that each side should enjoy what country it possessed. M. Dupleix had declared that Arcot was ours, though the English had seized it, and that it should be retaken as soon as troops arrived from Europe. At that time, the troops were all at Aurangabad, Masulipatam or Trichinopoly. As we had few men here, the English took this opportunity to conquer extensive countries. Affairs would have gone better if M. Godeheu, who arrived at that time, had insisted on seizing half the country;

but, as he did not do so, many places continued in the English possession with only a few outlying places in ours. As M. Godeheu and M. Barthélemy did nothing, the English claimed country yielding one or two lakhs after the agreement had been made. Besides this, they have lately seized the Madura, Nadumandalam and Tinnevelly countries, yielding 16 lakhs of rupees. Such is the state of affairs in the country.'—'M. Godeheu behaved without foresight. We will see,' the Governor said.

The Governor then asked about Pâpayya Pillai. I replied, 'M. Godeheu imprisoned Pâpayya Pillai on August 14, sealed up his houses, etc., and imprisoned his people. This caused much alarm, and, if he had struck the hot iron, and ordered the accounts to be produced and examined, large sums would have been collected. Instead, M. Delarche (M. Dupleix' *procurateur*) was entrusted with the management of the country and the examination of the accounts. Pâpayya Pillai's people were released, the seals were taken off his houses, he himself was treated kindly, and the accounts checked only in name. This emboldened people and the affair was spoilt. In M. Dupleix' time, an account had been given in of 8 lakhs due from Pâpayya Pillai and 4 lakhs due from his

people—12 lakhs in all. But he[1] went away without examining it.[2] He now says he has obtained a release from M. Dupleix.'—'Never-mind the release,' the Governor said, 'how much is he worth?' I replied, 'He is worth four or five lakhs of rupees, and I know that he has put his wealth into safe places outside.'—'Is that all?' he asked. I replied, 'The affair has been spoilt, and it will be very difficult to settle it now. That would not have been the case before. His man, Sâmâ Râo, falsified the military accounts to the extent of 30,000 rupees and secured the amount. Mahâdêva Ayyan, Pâpayya Pillai's man, told me of this and I told M. Godeheu, who ordered me to enquire diligently into the affair. When I imprisoned and questioned him, he agreed to pay 10,000 rupees through Bâli Chetti. But then M. Godeheu departed, and M. Barthélemy and his dubâsh Râman reconciled him and Mahâdêva Ayyan and sent them with troops to Elavânasûr.[3] M. Godeheu did not enquire what guards and jemadars had been maintained in M. Dupleix' time,, but left all that to the major for a while. So Nârôji and others raised a little money for the major, M. Barthélemy, and his dubâsh Râman, and thus managed

[1] *Quere*, Dupleix or Godeheu.
[2] *i.e.*, Pâpayya Pillai's account.
[3] *Cf.* Ranga Pillai's letter printed in the Appendix.

the affair. Then M. Godeheu entrusted the matter to me. 'Alî Khân and others came and offered me a month's pay, amounting to 54,000 rupees, if I could get them their arrears. But then, M. Godeheu returned to Europe. When M. Barthélemy sent Sâmâ Râo and Mahâdêva Ayyan to camp with troops, it was agreed to give M. Barthélemy a month's pay, and Râman, his dubâsh, half a month's pay. 'Alî Khân and others said that their remaining here would be useless, so they departed.' All these details I had noted on a paper which I gave to the Governor, saying, 'Pray, don't think that I am complaining against a gentleman. I am only reporting this because all profits since your arrival should go to you.' The Governor replied that M. Barthélemy had visited him yesterday evening, and said that a sum had been arranged in the matter of the troops. I observed that he knew what I should write, and so, being on the alert, had reported thus.

Afterwards I gave him the French translation of Yâchappa Nâyakkan's Persian letter. He asked when a reply should be written. I replied that none need be sent at present and that I would tell him when it should be done.

I then said that the killedar of old Gingee was coming to visit him with an elephant.

'Why an elephant?' he asked. 'Won't they give money?' I said I would ask and inform him. He asked how many elephants M. Dupleix had. I replied, 'He had twelve elephants, but sold three; but, as he had Valudâvûr, yielding a lakh of pagodas, besides the Masulipatam jaghir, he considered himself a mansabdar of the Pâdshâh, and spent money lavishly. You have succeeded him, so you are now the Pâdshâh's mansabdar. Only you need a jaghir.' He smiled and nodded.

M. Desfresnes then came, so I went out. As he was departing afterwards, I told him all were expecting the sale of Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr. He went away, saying that the Governor had decided in my favour.

The Governor again called me and asked about Pâpayya Pillai. I replied, 'What can be done now that the opportunity has been lost? Nothing can be got without much trouble, by frightening people and preparing accounts.' M. Boyelleau then came, so I went out. When he was leaving, he came up to me and said, 'You have settled Pâpayya Pillai's affair for a very little sum. Why did you not get a fat one?' I replied, 'How can I know the Governor's mind? If I mentioned a large sum, it would have to be realized.'—'But the sum ought not to have been fixed so low,' he said.

Then he went. I took leave, when M. Barthélemy was coming, and I came home.

Sêshâdri Pillai of Chingleput, who has arrived from Sadras, waited at my *agrahâram* over an hour after sunrise to-day so as to reach my house after *tyâjyam*.[1] There I found him when I arrived home after gunfire. He related his going and return. I said that, as the month of *Chittirai*[2] was approaching, the marriages must be settled. He replied that he had made enquiry but could find no suitable girl; however Mahârâja Râjasrî Tirumalairâya Pillai was coming to-morrow when the affair might be settled. I replied that it ought to be settled without more delay. Then I went to my office.

Tuesday, April 8.[3]—This morning I went to the Fort and paid my respects to M. Guillard, who said that he had received rupees and pagodas on the appointed date, and desired me to bring M. Barthélemy's receipt for what I had paid, so that, when he had seen it, he could give me a receipt for the whole amount. I sent a man at once to fetch it and went upstairs to the Governor. A council was being held about sending M. Goupil to Trichinopoly,

[1] One of the two inauspicious parts of the day.
[2] Panguni, Chittirai, Vaigâsi, Âni and Tai are generally the months for marriages.
[3] *29th Panguni, Bhava.*

so I waited outside. M. Goupil, after taking leave, came up to me and said, 'I am going to Trichinopoly. I do not know who is coming as dubâsh instead of Paramânanda Pillai; but Râmalinga Pillai is also coming. If you have anything to be done there, tell me, and I will see to it.' I replied, 'I am glad that you are going. On your arrival at Srîrangam, explain the coral and Turaiyûr affairs to Nandi Râjâ and get them settled.'—'Certainly,' he said, 'but write and remind me after my arrival.' So saying he departed.

I then spoke with M. Lenoir who told me the Governor's intentions and what was going to be done. Then M. Barthélemy's receipt came and I took it to M. Guillard. Having read it, M. Guillard said, before M. Bourquenoud, M. Carvalho, and his own writer, that the receipt was not written in the usual form and that therefore he would see about it and give a receipt for the whole sum to-morrow. I have now paid M. Guillard 19,800 pagodas in Porto Novo, Star and Pondichery pagodas, or 72,270 rupees, at the average rate of 365 rupees *per* 100 pagodas. I have also paid 1,10,000 rupees in rupees and 30,000 rupees to M. Barthélemy—in all 2,10,270[1] rupees. Besides this, 25,682 rupees have been paid to the sepoys out of the revenue

[1] The total should be 2,12,270 rupees.

collections. I therefore asked M. Guillard to give me a receipt for the entire sum of 2,37,982[1] rupees. He said he would give a receipt to-morrow for 2,12,270 rupees paid here, and another receipt for the second amount, when the orders for paying 25,682 rupees to the sepoys had come in. He then gave me leave. When I came out, I met M. du Bausset who said I had made no enquiries for him when he had been sick. I replied, 'I went to see you thrice, but each time I was sent away from your door, as you could not see me. I did not therefore forget to enquire after your health. If they did not inform you, what can I do?'

M. Miran then came, complaining that no village had been given him. I replied that all the villages were his and that he and I were the same. He observed, 'The Governor can hold his breath as well as a diver. If he just listens, and keeps biting his hand-kerchief in silence, remember that the affair will not prosper; but whatever he says may be regarded as if it had been cut on stone; he does one day or another whatever he promises; he never forgets.' I replied, 'True; M. Boyelleau said just the same yesterday afternoon when I was talking to him. I am the Pâdshâh's mansabdar of 3,000 horse

[1] The amount should be 2,37,952 rupees.

and Annâswâmi of 1,500 ; so that I am really a mansabdar of 4,500 horse. All this I owe to you and your kindness, as I never forget. I do not serve for the sake of gain. What is more important than honour?' M. Miran replied, 'I have told the Governor that a writer cannot use a roundel or a palankin. Because you go out with two roundels, should he[1] also use them? He should be deprived of his roundel and palankin. He may use them outside, but not here. I have told the Governor that he should not be allowed to use a roundel, and I am sure he will do as I said.'

He added that no news had come from Kârikâl about the coral people's payment and that they had not settled their accounts with M. Cornet here who was asking about it. I replied that everything should be settled without delay. On the stroke of noon, I came home.

Wednesday, April 9.[2]—This morning I went to the Fort, to pay my respects to the Governor, and waited. The Governor sent for me to his room. When I went in, he asked what Nandi Râjâ had written. I related to him Nandi Râjâ's first appearance, his quarrel with Muhammad 'Alî Khân after Chandâ Sâhib's death, his friendship with M. Dupleix, and the 20 lakhs of rupees owed to us. He asked how

[1] Vinâyaka Pillai.

[2] *30th Panguni, Bhava.*

the money could be recovered. I said that he would only pay if we pressed for it. He said he had heard that he had nothing. I then explained fully the relations between Nandi Râjâ and the lord and master of Mysore, the character of the people there, and the way in which money might be got by pressing Nandi Râjâ. He then gave me the letter to be translated into French.

He next asked the Villiyanallûr news. I replied, 'Venkatâchala Chetti has arrived. Vinâyaka Pillai offered 23,000 pagodas; but 24,000 pagodas shall be given to the Company as rent and 20,000 rupees to your honour. The lease will run from July 1755, and till then it can be managed by a paid agent.'—'So be it,' the Governor said. I therefore summoned Venkatâchala Chetti who gave him the diamond ring worth 220 pagodas, formerly presented by the Company's merchants as their nazar, and which I had provided for his visit. The Governor, calling his secretary, told him to write out the contract for 24,000 pagodas, as rent for Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr from July 13. I told Venkatâchala Chetti to wait outside.

He then asked how much M. Delarche was worth. I replied, 'His original property, what he acquired by M. Dupleix' favour after Nâsîr Jang's death, and his profits in five months after M. Godeheu's coming and during

M. Barthélemy's management—all this amounts to about 10 lakhs of rupees.' He then asked what M. Barthélemy was worth. I replied that his profits at Madras, at Kârikâl and since M. Godeheu's departure in the affair of the sepoys and by means of Vinâyaka Pillai, Mahâdêva Ayyan and Sâmâ Râo, amounted to three or four lakhs of rupees. He then asked what M. Dupleix was worth. I replied that there was no limit to his wealth, for he had obtained all the wealth of Nâsîr Jang, the subahdar of the Deccan, after his death, with such rubies, diamonds, emeralds and pearls as not even lords and princes could buy one of. He then asked about M. Bussy's. I said that he was a second Salabat Jang, who no longer desired to return hither, for he already owned a crore. 'What other Europeans have made money?' he asked. I replied, 'Every officer has made lakhs, not here, but when he was abroad.'[1]—'And who are the rich Tamils?' he asked. I replied, 'M. Dupleix was so clever at securing money that he sucked the people dry, so what is left?'

Then he asked about Kârikâl. I described the earnings of the people there, and the means by which they made them. When he asked

[1] Leyrit himself wrote later on, "Le militaire en général est aujourdhuy trop riche. Les principaux ont été gâtés par les commandemens qu'ils ont eus pendant la guerre."

about Paramânanda Pillai, I described him and Râmalinga Pillai also. He asked about Masulipatam and I told him about the money made there by Mandâla Reddi.

Just then the Secretary brought the contract for Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr, for the signatures of the Governor and the rest of council, except M. du Bausset who is sick. As we were talking thus, M. Barthélemy's arrival was reported; but the Governor sent word to him to wait. So he waited.

All say that the Governor, who usually says nothing, uttered at least a thousand words to-day, and I four thousand. At half-past eleven I and the Governor came out. He came down to inspect M. Godeheu's cloth that is being packed, and the Mâthiripâkkam cloth, 4 cubits wide and 32 cubits long; he remarked that better kinds of cloths could be had in Bengal; then he looked at the bell that M. Dupleix got from Europe for 60,000 rupees. At last he went upstairs. I took leave and came home.

Thursday, April 10.[1]—When I had paid my respects and reported the news to the Governor at the Fort this morning, he took me apart into his room and asked the news. I first gave him the Governor's new seal with which

[1] *1st Chittirai, Yuva.*

he was pleased.[1] Then I gave him the French translation of Nandi Râjâ's letter and the French writing about Vinâyaka Pillai's affair. He remarked that Vinâyaka Pillai was said to be involved in debt. I replied, 'What of that? His debts may amount to ten or twenty thousand in small sums, but his property must have been worth four or five lakhs, out of which M. Dupleix swallowed 2 lakhs, as he complained to M. Godeheu. Even now he manages the household affairs of M. Barthélemy, M. Delarche and M. du Bausset. His pay is only two pagodas, so how did he come by so much? Neither by trade nor as a renter, but by thievery he got it all. Men would give a lakh of rupees every year for his appointment. His cousin, Parasurâma Pillai, who formerly held the post, is here. He offers to pay 50,000 rupees if he does not prove the other to be worth three lakhs of rupees.' I then introduced Parasurâma Pillai who offered a nazar of 500 pagodas, and narrated the circumstances of his case. The Governor nodded, gave him rose water and *pân supârî*, and told him to wait outside.

The Governor then asked about Pâpayya Pillai. I related his whole story—his former beggary, his being made by Madame Dupleix,

[1] The seal or 'chop' with the Governor's name and titles in Persian, used to authenticate the Country Correspondence.

the consequent mismanagement of affairs, and his profits and those of his people to the ruin of all business. Thereon the Governor said that, if that was so, half the people of the town should be imprisoned, but that would not look well. 'No such thing,' I replied; 'if a couple were imprisoned or pressed, the rest would come with offers of their own accord.' He answered that the Company's business must be remembered as well as one's own. I replied, 'The Company's business must come first; then private affairs will prosper. Vinâyakan has given Râmalingam a palankin and sent him to Trichinopoly. First his affair and that of Paramânandan must be settled. He[1] should be sent for immediately.' He agreed to do so; and asked what reply should be written to Nandi Râjâ. I replied that it should run as follows:—'I am much pleased with your letter of congratulation on my appointment. I will show you more kindness than did M. Godeheu. But let not the moneys owing to us be forgotten.' He told me to write this out in French and asked if he would pay if pressed. 'Undoubtedly,' I replied; 'Salabat Jang is coming; and astrologers say that from July 13 all our affairs will prosper and we

[1] *i.e.*, Râmalingam

shall hold large countries. The English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân have now taken from us Madura, Tinnevelly, Nadumandalam, etc. We must not stand idle but take suitable measures.'—'What you say is true'; the Governor said, 'but there must be no room for complaint. Our conduct must be just and proper. So reflect over this and tell me. I will do as you say. Did M. Dupleix really believe in astrology?' I replied, 'He had no faith in astrology until two predictions had been fulfilled; then he believed; and was enabled to secure the capture of the ships, the taking of Madras, the defeat of the English, the deaths of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and of Nâsîr Jang, the conquest of countries and the acquisition of wealth.'—'Who foretold these?' he asked. I replied that the predictions were made by Malabar astrologers, whose predictions always prove true. 'What do they foretell now?' he asked. I replied that they expected great good fortune. I think he now believes in astrology. Thus to-day we discussed several affairs. His manner of questioning and train of thought make me think that he has many things in view.

M. Desfresnes came and said that 4,000 rupees had been offered for the old Nayinâr's affair. The Governor asked how a European could know of that. I replied that it must have

been mentioned before his arrival, and talked of since. 'Europeans ought to know nothing of these matters,' the Governor said. I then related fully the Nayinâr's affair and pacified him.

I gave the Governor the original and the French translation of Nandi Râjâ's letter, obtained and sent by M. Dusaussaye, the commandant at Srîrangam, saying that in Paramânanda Pillai's time M. Maissin had received some money but that not a cash had been given to the present commandant.

I also gave him the originals and the French translations of the two cadjan letters received from Karunguli. He took them, and asked the news of Nandi Râjâ. I replied that he had given up his hopes of this place, for the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân had seized his countries of Madura, Tinnevelly and Nadumandalam, about which he had written to M. Godeheu and M. Barthélemy in vain, so that as peace had been made for 18 months, he would no longer stay at Srîrangam but would depart. The Governor observed that M. Godeheu did business hastily, without sufficient forethought.

I then said that the Srîrangam people had agreed to pay a lakh of rupees a year if the Arumpâtai's place were given to them. The Governor said that Vinâyakan had the post

and asked what should be done. 'Who is he?' I replied. 'Is not the Arumpâtai merely a Fort writer on daily pay? What has he to do with it?'—'I will see about it,' he said. Then I took leave and came home.

Friday, April 11.[1]—I went and paid my respects to the Governor this morning when he was at the sorting-godown in the Fort. He returned my compliments. Thirty-two bales of Yânâm cloth have been packed. Some Europeans then came and talked to him, but the Governor, making them no answer, took me upstairs and gave me a letter about the flight of Nandi Râjâ, saying, 'See, he has run away.' I replied, 'Did I not tell you so yesterday? He has lost all hope of this place. The Mysore people too keep writing to him that he has spent three crores for nothing; so he can hope nothing from them. And now as Salabat Jang (Nâsîr Jang's younger brother) is in those parts, preparing to attack Mysore, he will go to him with promises of large sums, in order to get his help to capture Trichinopoly.' The Governor asked what Salabat Jang could do if the French and the English attacked him. I replied, 'How can you do so? In M. Dupleix's time he was demanding 130 lakhs of rupees as

[1] *2nd Chittirai, Yuva.*

due to him, and he demanded still larger sums from M. Godeheu. He wants to recover all this, and is coming hungrily with 25,000 Maratha horse, besides his own 20,000 horse—45,000 in all—and many foot, guns, cannon, etc. On his arrival, the killedars and poligars will all join him; the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân hold many countries, whereas we hold only a few villages near the Bounds. If he claims that, as he gave us the country, we are responsible for the revenues, we must seize Muhammad 'Alî Khân and strive to defeat his English allies who hold the country. So how can we join the English against him?' The Governor replied, 'In that case, M. Godeheu has managed things without knowledge or forethought. I am sorry I came here.' I replied, 'M. Godeheu was sent as Commander-General; and what did he care? M. Dupleix perceived his responsibility, but not so much as M. Lenoir who strove to complete whatever he began. M. Dupleix would begin business with ardour like M. Lenoir, but never completed it, though, as he felt his responsibility, the fruit ripened and decayed at the appointed seasons. But now that you are responsible for all things, let affairs be first well-examined and then well-managed.' As M. Desfresnes then came, I went out, to allow him to talk to the Governor. He departed on the stroke of nine, and I was

again sent for, so I went in. On seeing me, he said, 'Nandi Râjâ has departed; and a letter must be written to M. Dusaussaye, the commander. Our debts are not secure. What should be said to him.' I replied that a strict letter must be written to him. 'But what can he do,' he asked, 'now that Nandi Râjâ has cheated us and gone away?' I answered, 'Can that be said? Why was he posted there? He has received some 50,000 or 60,000; and if he now writes to say that he has received nothing from Nandi Râjâ's hand, but that the latter has departed, should we not ask him why he was sent there and tell him that he is responsible for Nandi Râjâ?' The Governor asked what he could have done, since the other had horse and other troops. 'Why?' I answered; 'what could Nandi Râjâ's horse and troops have done, if M. Dusaussaye had drawn his sword, and, placing it at his belly, told him to remain?' He smiled and said, 'That is true; as large sums are due to me, I will write strictly to M. Dusaussaye.'

Then I brought Kastûri Rangayyan, the Turaiyûr vakîl, to visit the Governor with a nazar of 400 pagodas. I told the Governor that the former poligar had formerly conducted himself to the satisfaction of the French Governor, but that Nandi Râjâ had then hindered him from doing so, for his own

purposes, and against our interests, driving out the poligar and appointing another; I related his residence at Ariyalûr, and Nandi Râjâ's booty when the town was plundered. When I had finished, the Governor said that he would punish Nandi Râjâ properly for his behaviour. Thereupon I told Kastûri Rangayyan to wait outside and said to the Governor, 'You have come as Governor, and know your responsibilities. As each man has done as he pleased, affairs are upside down. But if you will act with circumspection, you will obtain wealth and glory and the Company will prosper.' When I thus opened all affairs to him, his mind was troubled, and he asked what could be done. I told him not to despair and related in order all that had happened up to to-day, from the seizure of ships by the English and the capture of Madras and what the astrologers had predicted, and added, 'The astrologers' prophecies always prove true. The new year has commenced, and this year Salabat Jang will come into these parts. He will demand the surrender of our countries so that he may demand theirs of the English, appoint our friends over them and strengthen our armies. This will bring you much gain.' He replied, 'You seem to have great faith in predictions. But what if Salabat Jang does not come?' I replied that he could not depart, for

the Kistna would be full in May owing to the rains on the west, so that he could only cross after the middle of November. I added, 'He will visit Mysore, Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Arcot, settle affairs and collect his dues, and then return in mid-November. He has written to 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân ordering him to quit the Timiri, etc., forts; and the latter at once wrote to Muhammad 'Alî. Thus what I have said will happen, nor can the *shâstras* be mistaken.' When I thus spoke in detail of the *shâstras*, he agreed, and spoke of business.

Afterwards he spoke of important matters and the reasons of his strict management; and I replied to him frankly. He said that M. Dusaussaye had been deceived and got nothing from Nandi Râjâ. I replied, 'Not he but you have been deceived by the letter he sent from Nandi Râjâ, saying that he had received nothing from him. He took notes from Nandi Râjâ for 5,000 rupees every month and reported that Nandi Râjâ had paid this for the expenses. Careful inquiry will prove whether he was deceived or whether you were deceived by that letter.'—'It may be so,' he said.

The Secretary was told the day before yesterday to write out the contract and get an agreement from the lessees of Bâhûr and Villiyanallûr. Accordingly the deed was written out by the notary and signed to-day by

the Governor and the councillors. Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti's signature has still to be obtained. After talking till noon, I took leave and came out. Then I met Guruvappa Chetti and Ella Pillai who said that they were surprised to see that the Governor, who scarcely speaks to any one for fear of tiring his tongue, had been talking to me for three hours. I asked them how they knew. They said that they had seen us talking in the mirror. Then I came home, ate and was lying down in my room when news came that Srînivâsa Pandit (Râmânji Pandit's elder brother) had died suddenly. I said that this was an unlucky time for Râmânji Pandit as his younger brother had lost his wits and died, and as his elder brother was now dead; Râmânji Pandit is not so intelligent as he used to be and I have to drag him along.

Saturday, April 12.[1]—A letter from Tyâgappan's younger brother came to-day from Srîrangam saying :—'Hari Singh and Manôji are coming from Tanjore to confer with Muhammad 'Alî Khân. The Nânâ's horse and Salabat Jang have invaded Mysore, seizing a fort near by; they have killed many Mysoreans and are closely besieging Seringapatam.

[1] *3rd Chittirai, Yuva.*

The dalavâi Dêvarâja Udaiyâr, who has been sickly, is dead ; the place is to be given to another ; and the kingdom is full of troubles. Nandi Râjâ was therefore urgently desired to come at once. He set out on the night of the 8th. The people at Srîrangam and those who came with Nandi Râjâ have gone away. Nandi Râjâ said that he would leave Thâna Singh and Hyder 'Alî Khân at Srîrangam ; but he has not done so. The commander has mounted cannon on the *Râyagôpuram*, and posted infantry along the roads ; Nandi Râjâ proposed terms, but the commandant disapproved. When it was so, Nandi Râjâ departed. When the English and Mahfuz Khân attacked Sivili Thêvan, the latter with Mudâmiah fell upon Mahfuz Khân's camp and slew many, on which Mahfuz Khân's army is retreating by way of Madura to the fort. The Tanjore army attacked Vellaiyan Sêrvaikâran,[1] but the latter slew many, and the former retreated into Tanjore in order to collect troops and attack him again. Salabat Jang has desired Muhammad 'Alî Khân to bring money, but the latter has replied that he has none and therefore he cannot go.'

Sunday, April 13.[2]—When I was at home this morning, I told Vîrarâghava Pillai to fetch

[1] *Cf.* p. 210, *n.* 1, *supra*.

[2] *4th Chittirai, Yuva.*

Pennâthûr Sâmâ Râo and Mahâdêva Ayyan to settle the accounts of the first kist. But Vîrarâghava Pillai returned, saying that they had refused to make any answer as they were responsible only to their masters, Pâpayya Pillai and Rangappa Mudali. I then came out and sent for Sâmâ Râo and Mahâdêva Ayyan who were upstairs, and asked them what was to be said about the accounts of the first kist. Pennâthûr Sâmâ Râo answered that he would render accounts only to Pâpayya Pillai and Rangappa Mudali his masters, and asked what harm there was in that. I replied, 'How dare you speak thus to me? Am I not your and your master's master? I will give you a lesson.'—'What have you to do in all these matters?' he said disrespectfully. This roused my anger. I gave him two strokes with my cane saying, 'If you do not deliver in your accounts, you will not be let off lightly. According to Pâpayya Pillai's accounts, lakhs of money are due from you and you shall pay them.' I ordered a peon to accompany him upstairs and obtain the account of the first kist. He replied disrespectfully, 'Let me see you get it,' at the same time laying his hand upon his dagger. Immediately Bunder Venkata Râo seized it. This roused my anger yet more. I gave him four blows with my cane, ordered him to be imprisoned in the choultry,

and then went to the Fort. As it was Sunday, the Governor and the councillors had gone to church to hear mass ; so I waited at the sorting-godown. After mass, all returned and went upstairs, whither I also went. The Governor talked with M. Desfresnes and with M. Barthélemy in the southern hall. When these had gone, he talked to M. Boyelleau and M. Miran. Venkatâchalam (the choultry dubâsh's younger brother) then came and told the Governor, before M. Boyelleau and M. Miran, that, when he had informed M. Barthélemy of the imprisonment in the choultry of Pennâthûr Sâmâ Râo, he had been ordered to report it to the Governor. The Governor, who is very angry with Sâmâ Râo, called me to him. When I went, he asked why I had not reported the facts. I said because so many were with him. Thereupon in anger with Sâmâ Râo the Governor told me to put him in irons in the dungeon. This was accordingly done. I was then taken inside and asked for the rupees promised for settling the Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr affairs. I said I would get the money in two days and added that the old poligar of Turaiyûr offered a nazar of a lakh of rupees if he were restored. He replied that he would do so when he had received a letter announcing M. Goupil's arrival. I then called in Kastûri Rangayyan, the vakîl ; taking from him a note for a lakh of

rupees, I gave it to the Governor, who put it carefully in his box.

I then reported that Râja Pillai had arrived from Srîrangam and offered 50,000 rupees to the Company, and 40,000 to him, besides the usual rent if the lease of the Cauvery villages should be settled here through him. He said it should be done. Thereupon I called Râja Pillai, and, taking the note from him, gave it to the Governor. He put that also into his box.

I continued, 'The English are capturing countries up to the very fort gates. Instead of doing nothing, should we not write to them properly?' He replied, 'M. Godeheu's inquiries could not settle the matter, therefore he made a truce for 18 months, and went away. How can they raise new troubles? This is the King's business and the smallest mistake will have serious consequences.' I replied, 'But we shall not be blamed unless we do wrong. Some two months before M. Godeheu's departure, I explained everything to him and he wrote to Madras. The Madras people, not agreeing, sent two men to inspect the country and settle the disputes on the basis of each party's occupying the country in its possession on October 14. At that time, M. Godeheu sailed; and afterwards M. Barthélemy could

not continue to act like that. They are therefore encroaching on what we held on October 14, and are making disturbances. They have also seized countries to the south belonging to Trichinopoly, Madura, Nadumandalam, Tinnevelly, etc. When they thus exceed their limits, can we do nothing?' He then read the letters from the commander at Srîrangam, giving the same news as I had related. Being thus satisfied about the injustice of the English, he asked what should be done. I replied, 'I will write out for you, as I did for M. Godeheu, what should be done, with the reasons for it, so that you may read it and write to them. Formerly they wished to harm us, and by a trick seized our ships. But as God is just, He was pleased to put Madras into our hands. Now that they have again transgressed their bounds, God will not bless them with success. Besides Salabat Jang is coming here with M. Bussy after making terms with Mysore, and he will conquer many countries, demand money and settle affairs to our satisfaction. Much may thus be done; why then hesitate? The Mysore dalavâi is dead, and a new commander must be appointed. Venkatapati Ayyan, who was formerly Pradhâni, will be appointed. He desires our friendship and may help to collect the money which Nandi Râjâ has tricked us of.

Henceforth the promises of Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English will not be heeded.'—'Well,' the Governor replied, 'what you say is true. We must deal with the English properly for having transgressed their limits.'

He then said that I must get him something for settling the merchants' affairs. 'Certainly,' I said, 'the Company has only sixty or seventy-thousand pagodas and the business must be limited to this. The merchants usually pay 3 *per cent.* If we settle for an advance of 10,000 pagodas to the merchants, 6,000 pagodas for redwood, 6,000 for *lungis*, 6,000 for Kârikâl, and 7,000 for the painters, etc.—35,000 pagodas in all—I will arrange with them and get what is due to you. More advances may be made when the revenues come in from the countries, and money from Europe.'—'Very well,' he replied. I replied that I would do this in two days, as the constellations to-day and to-morrow are Bharani and Kruttigai.[1]

The Governor then said, 'M. Delarche came to me this morning, saying that Chandâ Sâhib's business should be settled by him and not by the courtier. What do you say to that?' I replied that not only in this but in all other

[1] The second and third lunar asterisms; the former generally and the latter always exert an evil astrological influence. The former comprises 3 stars in *Musca*; the latter is the *Pleiades*.

matters which Madame Dupleix had managed, every one had had a word.

I then related to him in full, without concealing the truth, all the following :—Chandâ Sâhib's imprisonment in Satâra ; my assisting his people ; my endeavours to bring him here from Satâra and the help I gave after his arrival ; Chandâ Sâhib's panic on Nâsîr Jang's arrival ; my management of affairs at that time ; Chandâ Sâhib's subsequent conduct ; the control under which M. Dupleix kept him ; the nazars given by Chandâ Sâhib and others to M. Dupleix as if he had been the Company ; the visits paid to the Councillors' houses and the kind words given to them ; M. Dupleix' pressing them for money ; the way in which M. Delarche obtained a few fanams from them[1] after [M. Dupleix'] departure ; the false stories he told to M. Godeheu on his arrival about their being made Nawâbs, so that they might be given presents and salutes and give presents in return; and the petition given to M. Godeheu at the time of his departure praying that the Company should allow them 50,000 rupees a year. I added, 'He is no Nawâb ; he is powerless. In the old days there were Safdar 'Alî Khân and Dôst 'Alî Khân. In their name[2] he accompanied Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, and

[1] *i.e.*, Chandâ Sâhib's family.
[2] *i.e.*, claiming succession from them.

was under him. When the country was under M. Dupleix, he was under him also; and was responsible for large sums to the Company.' When I faithfully narrated what had taken place, and what should be done, he said, 'Is that so?' Thus he learnt everything from me. I took leave and came home.

At four o'clock this afternoon a peon came and said that the Governor wanted me. When I went and paid my respects, I found M. Barthélemy who had given in a writing about Pennâthûr Sâmâ Râo, and had been saying that Sâmâ Râo was a commander of sepoys under his control, whom I had ordered to be seized, beaten and imprisoned, without his knowledge, in order to recover money from him, that the Governor without full enquiry had put him in irons in the dungeon, and that he (Barthélemy) could not manage any business if matters went on thus and that none would respect him or his office. When he had finished, the Governor turned to me and said, 'You said he was a Brâhman, but M. Barthélemy tells me he is a commander of sepoys. Why did you have this man beaten and imprisoned without telling me?'—'I am surprised at this,' I answered. 'Is he a commander of sepoys? He used to be an amaldâr under Pâpayya Pillai's management, and owed four lakhs of rupees. He was also amaldâr under Rangappa

Mudali, and he is answerable to me for the first kist account. He and Mahâdêva Ayyan owe a lakh of rupees. When therefore I questioned him, he defied me. You, the European Governor, have appointed me Governor of the Tamils and other castes; therefore I summoned and questioned him; yet he defied me. Should he not be punished and put into the dungeon? I have merely done my duty, and what has M. Barthélemy to do with it?' M. Barthélemy interrupted, saying that Sâmâ Râo commanded the sepoys under him, and that I would certainly have to pay. I replied, 'By no means, for I have not received and misappropriated 40,000 or 50,000 like you. You said that you had settled Sâmâ Râo's affair for 34,000 rupees and given the money into M. Godeheu's hands. It was at once reported in conversations and petitions to M. Godeheu that the accounts were false. I was ordered to inquire into the matter; therefore I sent for and told him to take 4,000, and pay in the balance of 30,000. He offered 10,000 rupees; but I then told him that, if he paid 20,000 rupees, the balance of 14,000 should be excused. At that time M. Godeheu who was about to leave, told me to explain the affair to M. Leyrit, who was coming, and have it settled. There are witnesses to prove that he agreed to pay 10,000 rupees. As Sâmâ Râo was an

amaldâr, sepoys were sent with him. But has he therefore become a commander?' I thus justified what I had done. The Governor remarked that, if the old accounts were examined, his room would not be large enough to hold all the money. He ordered me to release Mahâdêva Ayyan and take off the guards at Sâmâ Râo's house. He then drove out with M. Barthélemy, M. Boyelleau and other councillors, and I went to my office in the flower-garden. Here I heard that Sâmâ Râo had been unironed and removed to Parasurâma Pillai's godown. The Governor returned to the Fort after his drive, and M. Barthélemy went home. Pâpayya Pillai who had not yet taken his food, Râmayya Pillai who had not even eaten a betel-nut, Rânôji and Vinâyaka Pillai then complained to him that he[1] had not yet been released. M. Barthélemy then wrote to the Governor, who threw down the letter and said nothing. The peon told M. Barthélemy, that, when he went to the Governor to secure the release, he was dismissed angrily. M. Barthélemy again wrote to the Governor requesting him to release Sâmâ Râo at least at meal-times. On reading it the Governor appointed two soldiers and two sepoys to guard him while eating and then take him back to the dungeon.

[1] *i e*, Sâmâ Râo.

Monday, April 14.[1]—This morning I went to the Fort and paid my respects to the Governor. Europeans were talking with him one by one ; so I waited outside, meaning to go to him when summoned. When M. Lenoir came, I gave him the French writing I had and related Sâmâ Râo's serving as amaldâr under Pâpayya Pillai, his arrest, his being tied to a tree and beaten with sandals, his defying me when I asked him for the account of the first kist when he was serving as amaldâr under Rangappa Mudali, my giving him two blows and ordering his imprisonment in the choultry, M. Barthélemy's intervention and my reply that it was not his business, but mine. When M. Lenoir had read it, he said that he knew all about it, and added, 'Last night I and the Governor had a long talk about this. I explained it to him as far as I understood it. He is well disposed to you and wants you and himself alone to exercise authority. He also means to dismiss Vinâyaka Pillai in four days and appoint another in his place. The Governor entirely depends upon you and I have spoken much to him about you. Don't deceive him. Promise me that you will not. He brought from Bengal no wealth worth mention except what was ready to hand. His

[1] *5th Chittirai, Yuva.*

savings have all been lost in two ships, and you must make this up to him. You must make him rich, for he entirely depends upon you. I will relate the contents of this letter to him.' So saying he went away. M. Boyelleau then came up and I showed him my writing. He said, 'I knew something about this, and have just spoken to the Governor, explaining matters to him as far as I could. I will speak to him again about it. What M. Barthélemy says cannot stand beside this fair statement, and I will explain everything.' Then he went away.

M. Desfresnes then came and I showed him also the paper. He said the same as M. Boyelleau and went away. As the Governor was talking to Europeans till noon, I could not speak with him, so I came home.

Tuesday, April 15.[1]—At half-past four this evening, I set out from the Fort for Chandâ Sâhib's house with music and dancers, with the Governor's palankin, the Nayinâr, the head-peon and Vinâyaka Pillai. On our arrival, no conversation was exchanged, but Razâ Sâhib and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib brought on two trays six gifts—a turban, a *muhamudi*, a sash, a girdle, some brocade and a bracelet,—three in each tray, and with one more containing *pân*

[1] *6th Chittirai, Yuva.*

supârî, and presented them. After distributing the *pân supârî*, they ordered the trays of gifts to be placed in a palankin, and so we came out. Broadcloth was laid over their elephant which has a short tail and no tusks, and then they set out. These went first, and we accompanied them to the Fort with music and dancers ; and the presents were offered to the Governor in the presence of M. Delarche, M. Boyelleau and M. Desfresnes. Dôst Muhammad alone of Chandâ Sâhib's people came with the trays, and stood at a distance with the chobdars. Orders were given for a salute of 19 guns to be fired. For quarter of an hour, there was complete silence, as if they had been so many flies in treacle. When at last the trays were taken away the Governor sent his compliments to Dôst Muhammad. But in return for his prostration, he was not given rosewater or *pân supârî* or a word of civility. The Governor then came downstairs and drove out. I went to my office in the flower-garden.

The Governor wrote a French letter of compliment to Salabat Jang and gave it to me to be translated into Persian. I did accordingly and despatched it.

When I went to the Fort this morning, the Governor was in his room and the Europeans were waiting outside. I waited with them. M. Cornet came up to me and said, 'M. Barthélemy

has acted like this in anger at your not having given him Gingee. Why did you refuse ? Have you not given M. Leyrit Wandiwash ? If you had only given him Gingee, he would not have behaved so.' I replied, 'If I am the lessee, I can give the countries to whomsoever I please ; why should I do otherwise ? I offered him Gingee on the terms proposed by others, but was expected to give it on the terms on which I held it from the Company. If that were done, who would pay the additional expenses ? So I offered it on the terms proposed by others. He did not agree and now behaves like this. Both of us are servants of the Company ; but different respect is due to one and to another ; therefore I have done nothing. His duty is to do justice alike to us who do not wear hats and to the Governor ; and he should not interfere in other things. If he seeks to drive me from my office, I will appeal even to Europe to obtain justice. But if he shows me proper respect, I will also show him the same.'

Just then M. Miran came and complained that Bâpu Râo was supplying him with bad betel.[1] M. Cornet joined M. Miran in blaming Bâpu Râo about this. M. Desfresnes then came up and M. Cornet repeated to M. Miran

[1] Betel was commonly used by Europeans at this time.

and M. Desfresnes what he had said to me about M. Barthélemy, saying,—'If Ranga Pillai had given M. Barthélemy Gingee, no mischief could have arisen; and because he did not, M. Barthélemy acts angrily as he has never done before. He still wants Gingee.' I asked what they thought of this demand. They asked M. Cornet if it was true. He said it was, and added that M. Barthélemy was only angry with me because I would not give him Gingee. M. Desfresnes said that the writer Rangappa Mudali had made the cultivators and head-men of Villiyanallûr petition the Governor, who, on reading it, gave them no countenance but remained silent, on which they departed. I then repeated to M. Desfresnes what M. Cornet had said. He replied that he had heard it before.

Just then M. Leyrit came out and said that the first kist collections from Wandiwash, 24,000 pagodas or 96,000 rupees, must be paid along with the balance. I turned to M. Desfresnes and M. Cornet and said that all this had happened because I had demanded payment of the first kist accounts. They said among themselves that the first collections amounted to five or six lakhs, that Rangappan[1] had paid three or four lakhs and that only two or three lakhs were still due to the Company.

[1] Apparently the diarist.

I hear that Râmakrishna Chetti has presented a complaint to the Governor against M. Mongenot's[1] buying and building a house. The Governor on reading it observed that it was improper to do what had never been done here before, or to give one man the house of another, and ordered that each man should enjoy his own house.

When the Governor came out of his room, I paid him my respects. He returned his compliments, and taking me aside, asked why I had not visited him yesterday. I replied, 'If the courtier's work is hindered, the place is not worth having. You must so manage that my position shall be comfortable, then I must satisfy you by managing your affairs with care. How can I do that when you rob my appointment of life?' When I thus stated the case, he said, 'He[2] is a captain of sepoys, and should not be beaten.' I replied, 'What sort of a captain is he? He used to be an amaldâr under Pâpayya Pillai by whom he was tied up and beaten with slippers times without number. Why should I not beat him? Please read this.' So saying I gave him my writing in French relating all that had been done to him. When he had read it, he said, 'Many are concerned in this matter, all of whom will have to be

[1] M. Mongenot made the great clock for the tower which fell down in 1754. See above page 81.

[2] *i.e.,* Sâmâ Râo

brought to book. I do not know what the consequence may be. Tell me what should be done.' I replied, 'Why be afraid? Must we bring all to book? If we twist one or two, the others will be alarmed and will settle their affairs. Have not former Governors done so? But if you are too timid, what affair can prosper?' As we were talking thus, M. Barthélemy and the Bishop Padré came. In the course of their conversation, they mentioned Râmakrishna Chetti's house. The Governor said, 'In future Tamil houses are not to be seized. It has been ordered that each shall remain in possession of his own house.'

Then Dôst Muhammad came with M. Desvœux to discuss Chandâ Sâhib's affair, asking that M. Delarche should act as Persian interpreter. The Governor asked me. I replied, 'He[1] used to be a lascar on a sloop. In M. Dupleix' time he was used as a go-between as Muzaffar Khân could not speak the language. Afterwards he was in charge of the sepoys for some time, but he was charged by M. Godeheu with theft, and was shut up in the dungeon. What relationship is there between him and Chandâ Sâhib? He has only come on their behalf.'—'Is that so? I hear that Chandâ Sâhib[2] is sending presents.

[1] *i.e.*, Dôst Muhammad.

[2] The father's name thus descending to the son, just as Muhammad 'Alî got the title of Anwar-ud dîn Khân.

What about it?' he asked. I replied, 'The ruler of the subah of Arcot should send presents, and should receive the usual presents in return. But when they gave presents to M. Dupleix, they used to stand before him with their nazar as his subordinates; when M. Godeheu came, the old custom was abandoned; he listened to others, and fired salutes when he received presents from them.' Thereupon the Governor asked M. Barthélemy, who answered that it was so. I was then taken aside and told that, when they came, I should do nothing but suffer M. Delarche to interpret in Persian; and I was, as usual, to fetch the [presents] in the evening. As he persisted in this, I agreed. I obtained three orders from the Governor, one for 10,000 pagodas for the Company's merchants, another for 6,000 pagodas for Pulicat *lungis*, and the third for 6,000 pagodas for redwood. When I came home, I gave them to Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti.

Wednesday, April 16.[1]—At two o'clock this afternoon, during the *Simha Lagna*[2] Mechiya Pillai came to my house with his wife and twenty or thirty others with coconuts, fruit, sugar, saffron, *pân supârî*, cardamoms, cloves, nutmeg, three women's cloths,

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[1] *7th Chittirai, Yuva.*

[2] An auspicious period of this day, under the influence of *Leo*.

and three bodices, borne on silver trays by *tâli*-wearing Brâhman women, in order to seek a wife for Chidambaranâtha Pillai (Sadâsiva Pillai's son). Mahârâja Râjasrî Sêshâdri Pillai, Tirumalai Pillai, Nâchana Pillai, my Gôpâlaswâmi and Vîrarâghu welcomed them and distributed sandal and *pân supârî* to all, including the Brâhmans, who were asked to sit down upstairs. When I awoke, I heard this news, and, in the evening, set out from my house, to be present at the auspicious ceremony of fixing the first post for the marriage of Kandâl Guruvappa Chetti's son.[1] I then went to the small garden where I talked with M. Reyne and Gôpâlaswâmi, returning home at nine.

Thursday, April 17.[2]—At five o'clock this evening I heard that M. Delarche had introduced Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son) to the Governor under a salute of 21 guns. I hear only rosewater and *pân supârî* were given, but no presents.

This morning I asked Mahârâja Râjasrî Sêshâdri Pillai and Tirumalai Pillai, Emberumâl Pillai, Vîrarâghu, Gôpâlaswâmi, Vijaya Pillai, Panchângan Pillai, Kutti, Subbayyan (the Telugu) and Mechiya Pillai to consider

[1] On the occasion of a marriage, a pandal (or temporary shed) is erected. The first post should be fixed at an auspicious moment on the seventh, fifth or third day before the marriage.

[2] *8th Chittirai, Yuva.*

with the assistance of the Brâhmans, whether the horoscopes[1] agreed in the several points. I then paid my respects to the Governor at the Fort.

A letter has come from Tyâgayyan's younger brother at Srîrangam, saying that M. Dusaussaye let Nandi Râjâ go in return for a present of 20,000 rupees, a necklace worth 20,000 rupees, a string of pearls, and other jewels. I came home at noon.

Gôpâlaswâmi then came and said that the horoscopes had been examined, and that those of Kârikâl Kanda Pillai and Ponnâchi agreed, as also those of Venkatammâlpêttai Chidambaranâtha Pillai and Nannâchi; but that Kulandai's did not agree with that of Sâmi (son of my uncle Vîrarâghava Pillai) though it did with Appâvu's, his younger brother. Subbâ Jôsier of Vaippûr was also there, so I asked him to look at the horoscopes to observe their good and bad fortune. His reply was satisfactory.

Saturday, April 19.[2]—At seven o'clock this morning, I went to M. Leyrit, the General, who had yesterday given me for translation into French Salabat Jang's letter addressed to M. Godeheu, sent by Husain Khân, the elephant merchant's mahout, and delivered by

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[1] Of the proposed bridal couples.
[2] *10th Chittirai, Yuva.*

him with nazars. I gave him the French translation upstairs, in the hall running east and west on the north side, and paid my respects. There were present M. Guillard, M. Desfresnes, M. Cornet, M. Lenoir, M. Desvœux, etc. He asked if there was any news. I said I had heard that Salabat Jang had plundered the Mysore country, and was demanding five crores of rupees ; that the Mysore people replied that their great losses prevented their paying so much ; that it was not known how the matter would end ; and that Nandi Râjâ had reached the fort of Nâmakkal from Srîrangam. So saying, I gave him Salabat Jang's Persian letter addressed to M. Godeheu with the French translation. Taking them, he read the French translation, which states that Pâpayya Pillai owes Husain Khân 25,000 pagodas, that his man Anga Pillai owes 29,000 rupees, and Hasan-ud-dîn Khân 7,000 pagodas, for which sums bonds had been given which should be realized from Pâpayya Pillai's people and given to Zuhûr-ud-dîn Khân (Husain Khân's son-in-law) to be paid to sowcar Bhêma Râjâ ; that he can only pay his debts if his debtors pay him ; and that, as his creditors are pressing him, his dues must be paid to him. Having read it himself, he read it to M. Desfresnes, M. Guillard and the others. Among other things they said that

although he[1] owed a lakh and a half of rupees, M. Barthélemy was urging that M. Dupleix had given him a release-deed to the effect that he had settled all that was due from the country down to July 1754; and that nothing more need be done. M. Cornet and others observed that he had lodged ten or twelve lakhs of rupees secretly in Madras and elsewhere and plainly described his iniquities. The Governor and others then went downstairs to the *comptoir*. I went to the sorting-godown, but M. Cornet wished me to accompany him to see the coral weighed. I therefore went. After talking with M. Cornet and M. Miran, I took leave and went to my office in the flower-garden at half-past eleven.

Monday, April 21.[2]—As I was going out this morning with my gown on to go to the Fort, I felt tired and sleepy. So I took off my gown and slept till mid-day, when I bathed. When I was eating, a letter from Tyâgayyan's younger brother written at Srîrangam on the 17th was brought to me, and read aloud. It says, 'M. Goupil and Râmalinga Pillai have reached Srîrangam. M. Dusaussaye the commander and M. Goupil joined together. Thereon Râmalingam wrote that things would improve if M. Maissin were

[1] Pâpayya Pillai.

[2] *12th Chittirai. Yuva.*

sent. But this cadjan letter fell into the hands of M. Goupil and M. Dusaussaye, who ordered Râmalingam and his man Arunâchalam to be brought, beaten well and imprisoned. Nandi Râjâ who is at Nâmakkal fort, has obtained sums of five or ten thousand from the people under him, according to their respective salaries, to meet his expenses. In spite of the death of Dêvarâja Udaiyâr at Seringapatam, Venkatapati Ayyan has not been appointed chief *Pradhâni*[1] but has only been ordered to supervise affairs. Two men with silver staves have been sent to fetch Nandi Râjâ post-haste. He has resolved to go to Seringapatam accordingly as soon as the chobdars arrive.'

Tuesday, *April 22*.[2]—I heard this evening that Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son) would be introduced by M. Delarche to the Governor to-morrow, on the occasion of his feast, and that the Governor had ordered 7,000 rupees worth of food to be prepared.

Wednesday, *April 23*.[3]—I presented the Governor this morning at the Fort with a bouquet as it was his feast-day; the Europeans and the councillors with their ladies were present. When the Governor had returned after mass, Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son) arrived

[1] The third minister in rank, usually holding the office of treasurer.
[2] *13th Chittirai, Yuva.*
[3] *14th Chittirai, Yuva.*

and the Governor advanced to the steps to meet him. His presents to the Governor were as follows :—A pendant set with diamonds and rubies alternately, worth 150 pagodas ; two *bâjubands* set with diamonds worth 250 pagodas ; a pair of gold knobs for a palankin ; a gold rosewater sprinkler, betel-tray and box worth in all 400 pagodas ; a horse worth 200 pagodas ; and a dress of honour worth 100 pagodas—in all 1,400 pagodas. Imâm Sâhib's son presented him with two dresses of honour worth 250 rupees. The seven Company's merchants presented him with 147 pagodas, 21 apiece, Salatu Venkatâchala Chetti gave 21 pagodas, Kannapuram Tiruppali Chetti 11, Madanânda Pandit five rupees and Srînivâsa Râo (Pâpayya Pillai's vakîl) presented through a Muhammadan fellow, two bunches of plantains, two jack fruit, and ten bambulimâs.[1] When all had offered their presents, the Governor gave Chandâ Sâhib's son 30 pieces of broadcloth worth 3,000 rupees, 14 rolls of China silk worth 448 rupees, 2 watches worth 400 rupees, 7 pieces of gold lace worth 250 rupees, 3 rolls each of a different colour, of velvet, 60 yards in all, worth 960 rupees ; a roll of China silk worth 60 rupees, two telescopes worth 100 rupees, 4 small knives, 4 pairs of scissors,

[1] The fruit corrupted into English as the 'Pimplenose.'

6 mirrors of the best quality, two baskets containing phials of Hungary water, a small gold box and four small snuff-boxes—worth altogether 7,000 rupees according to the Governor's account, but only 5,500 according to Krishnappan, at the Fort rates. After these presents had been given, a salute of 21 guns was fired and all were dismissed with compliments. I waited some time after their departure and then came home.

Thursday, April 24.[1]—This morning I sent Râmânji Pandit and Swâmi Ayyangâr to M. du Rocher with French translations of the cultivators' statements that our people had collected the revenues in Karunguli and Sâlavâkkam before the English appeared there. When Râmânji Pandit and Swâmi Ayyangâr had done this, they reported that after reading them, M. du Rocher said that Kôdandarâma Ayyan our old amaldâr of Madurantakam, who has joined the English, formerly sent statements proving that money had been collected in Madurantakam, so that the statements of four or five other persons must be taken without delay and that accounts must be got for the collections made by our people in Karunguli and Sâlavâkkam. Immediately I sent for Venkâji Pandit

[1] *15th Chittirai, Yuva.*

(Rangappa Mudali, the former amaldâr's man) and told him to write about it. I also told Râmânji Pandit to obtain accounts of the collections, together with statements from some of the cultivators in Madurantakam.

The Governor could not sleep last night by reason of the dancing and fire works, so he was still sleeping after daybreak. I went to my office in the flower-garden, but at nine o'clock when I was drinking tea I heard that the Governor had awakened. I went at once but could not see him, although I tried twice or thrice.

M. Barthélemy came and talked with the Governor till noon. I waited till then, and came home. When I was there, a chobdar brought a message that the Governor wanted me at half-past two. I sent him away saying that I would go accordingly.

Afterwards Valangimân Subbayyan, who had taken leave of me when he set out for Benares on August 27, 1751, visited me with his *kâvadi*[1] and a tray of vessels full of the Ganges water, and his offerings to the Gods. Immediately I went to bathe, pouring the Ganges water over myself,[2] after which I ate and visited the Governor at the Fort. After speaking

[1] The *kâvadi* is a porter's knot; in the present case it signifies that used by a pilgrim carrying his temple offerings.

[2] This is considered equivalent to ablutions in the Ganges itself.

about a few villages, he asked the Turaiyûr news. I said that a battle was imminent between the old and the new poligars. The Governor asked how the new poligar could be removed. I replied, 'How can a new man justly seize the house of another who has long been in possession of it? There are 72 poligars under that country, and of all these, this man alone joined and paid us tribute, and acted as we desired, being under our protection. But Nandi Râjâ attacked him at a suitable time, dismissing him and appointing a new poligar. So can we not dismiss the new man and restore the former man, our ally?' He replied, 'If we do that, Nandi Râjâ will write objecting to it.' I replied, 'Nandi Râjâ will object to anything, but is that a reason for doing nothing? He already owes us large sums; and yet he has written many complaints. He demands that we shall write letters to Salabat Jang and M. Bussy, saying that the whole amount of the peshkash money has been spent on our army, though we have not finished any of his business, and therefore asking Salabat Jang and M. Bussy only to collect the usual peshkash and return what has been taken in excess. That is the sort of thing he is writing.' He then asked why the old poligar had advanced with the help of our enemy the Râjâ of Tanjore. I replied, 'What could he do

without help from Tanjore? The place is his birth-place, for which he would die. Formerly he had our protection; and now he has given you a nazar of 100 pagodas besides a bond for a lakh of rupees in return for your promises of help. The usual peshkash is 30,000 [ ], but he has lost his town and country in spite of the lakhs he has paid; so that he will march with the Tanjore army and seize it, and not keep quiet. Why should he forsake his country?'—'Did we promise him anything? the Governor asked. 'Did you not?' I replied; 'what can I do if you who are next under God, forget what you have said?' He then asked if the new vakîl who had come had visited me. I said he had not, but that I had heard of his arrival and of his visiting M. Barthélemy, his dubâsh Râman, Vinâyaka Pillai, M. Delarche and Madanânda Pandit. 'Well,' he said, 'I will let you know after reading the Srîrangam letters.'

I then reported the news from Vriddhachalam that the Udaiyâr's army had removed the *tôranams* tied by the Vriddhachalam poligar in Râjêndrapattanam and Kônamangalam, plundered the villages, and carried the people away to Udaiyârpâlaiyam. The Governor said that a letter must be written to the commander to send troops against Udaiyârpâlaiyam, as otherwise the Zamindar would not keep

quiet. I said I had sent a man with a letter about the peshkash, and that a reply would be received in four days, after which troops might be despatched.

Then he said that the Tranquebar Religionists were disturbing our Padre's church at Panikkankuppam in the Venkatammâlpêttai country[1] and that I must write asking them to cease. I said I would do so.

He said he had heard from the commander that the Mangâttûr cultivators had run away. I said I would enquire and let him know. I then took leave and went to my office in the flower-garden. M. Dusaussaye came at six o'clock, talked for about an hour, and then departed.

Friday, April 25.[2]—This morning I went to the Fort and paid my respects to the Governor. He asked the Turaiyûr news. I reminded him of what I had told him yesterday and added that he should keep his promise to them. Thereon he asked if they would pay the promised amount. I said the poligar was certain to, since he was dependent on us. He was not satisfied with my reply, but asked again in a doubtful way if the money would really come. After much talk, I said, 'Pray do not lose heart. I have warned him that he must pay

[1] *Cf.* pages 213 and 214 *supra*.

[2] *16th Chittirai, Yuva.*

the amount in a fortnight or a month ; or at the latest in forty days. He will not fail to pay within that time, for, in that case, your army will be sent against him to destroy his army, and obtain the promised money. Therefore be not discouraged.'—'But you know,' the Governor said, 'that he has the help of the Râjâ of Tanjore and the poligar of Ariyalûr.'—'That's so with the poligars,' I replied ; 'if one poligar is in trouble, some of the others will help him to maintain himself. It is only usual.'—'But see,' the Governor said, 'M. Goupil has written without orders to the Râjâ of Tanjore and the poligar of Ariyalûr.'—'He is not to blame,' I replied, 'M. Dupleix and M. Godeheu immediately punished those who disobeyed them. You do not, and this is the result.' He remained silent, and gave me one letter from Nandi Râjâ, and two others from Imâm Sâhib, to be translated into French.

He said that a letter must be sent to Vâlikondâpuram, as Europeans had deserted thither from the commander at Tiruviti. I accordingly sent a letter addressed to the Vâlikondâpuram man.

I gave the Governor the French translation of Nandi Râjâ's letter to M. Dusaussaye with a Telugu translation of Nandi Râjâ's letter to me written underneath.

I formerly heard that Dêvarâja Udaiyâr, the dalavâi of Mysore, had died; but I now hear that it is false, and that he is alive.

One of Vennila Nâranappa Nâyakkan's younger sons visited me on his way from Madras to Negapatam to attend a marriage there. I supplied him with food, gave him a dress of honour, and to those who accompanied him two pieces of broad-cloth, two silver-laced turbans and a painted turban.

Copy of letter from Nandi Râjâ, *Sarvâdhikâri*[1] :—

'To Mahârâja Râjasrî Vijaya Ânanda Ranga Râyar Avargal, the adornment of the Wazirat, rich in all good qualities, the delight of his friends, a letter sent to court his friendship and about other affairs.

I have enjoyed good health up to-day, the third day in the bright half of *Vaisâka*[2]. Be pleased to write to me about all important matters. You will have learnt all things from my former letter. Four years ago, I left my country. For three years, I have made friends with the French[3], spending vast sums of money; but my affairs have not prospered. I believed with all my heart and soul that the former Governor would bestow his attention upon

[1] See Vol. VIII, page 90, n. 1, *supra*. [2] April 14.
[3] Reading *Pirânji* for *Parâsi*.

my affairs and secure my prosperity; therefore I abode with the French. But then M. Bussy marched with Nawâb Salabat Jang's army to attack our fortress with numberless cannon, and captured a fort. It is not proper to disturb our country since I and the French are friends. Thinking them[1] to be the friends of our friends, the French, since the latter were in their camp, we were not at first alarmed; but we were deceived. Then my master ordered me to join him as soon as I received his letter, lest the same should happen again; so I am returning to my country. Nevertheless a suitable letter should be written by M. Leyrit the Governor, to M. Bussy, who desires to break our friendship with the French instead of preserving it so long as the sun and moon endure. What should I say more? Everything will be learnt from Venkatanârâyana Ayyan whose words will be as my own. Hereby glory may be secured. As many affairs must be settled in our country, I must go thither; otherwise I would not. Srîrangam and Jambukêswaram are no ordinary forts. One has a single wall; and the other seven walls[2] one within the other. Trichinopoly stands within range of a field-

[1] *i.e.*, the invader—Salabat Jang.

[2] A subsequent passage makes me think the temples are being contrasted with Trichinopoly, and that we should understand the one with a single wall to refer to that town.

piece from these places, and when we took them, Trichinopoly was in the power of the French. Therefore I handed over these places and the countries between the two rivers and took my departure. The English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's people cannot be trusted ; so though the French and the English have concluded an agreement, the Governor must write to the commandant at Srîrangam warning him to stand on his guard against their attempts. The Governor should also write to M. Bussy to explain everything to Nawâb Salabat Jang so that our friendship with the French may continue, which can only happen if affairs are so managed that both sides prosper. Be all this known to you. Write to me about your welfare.'

Saturday, April 26.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to the Fort and paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, when he was upstairs, walking about and talking with M. Boyelleau, M. Lenoir, M. Desvœux and other officials ; I gave him the French translations and the original Persian letters received yesterday from Nandi Râjâ, and Imâm Sâhib's son and son-in-law, and given to me yesterday to be translated. After reading them, the Governor said, 'An answer must be written to

[1] *17th Chittirai, Yuva.*

Nandi Râjâ, but I first want to consult you. M. Bussy is five miles from Seringapatam with Salabat Jang and his troops, having taken some fort in Mysore, but he has not written us a line. I sent a chobdar, hoping to reach him in the neighbourhood of Cuddapah, and Kandanûr; but when I heard that he had entered Mysore, I wrote letters about it to Nandi Râjâ at Srîrangam and to Salabat Jang. We must send another messenger.' I agreed. He then asked me what answer should be written to Nandi Râjâ. I said I could not be expected to know so well as himself; but he replied that I had managed such affairs before. I therefore said, 'Nandi Râjâ writes that he reached Trichinopoly four years ago, and joined us three years ago; he has spent crores; but M. Bussy and Salabat Jang have seized one of his forts and are encamped only four or five miles from the fort; and that, as M. Bussy is leading the advance guard, his master wrote to him saying that, if he remained, none could tell what would happen to him and therefore recalled him at once; that as he was occupying Srîrangam and Jambukêswaram fortresses with seven and five walls each, he considered that Muhammad 'Alî Khân who holds the fortress of Trichinopoly, which has but a single wall, was helpless and that therefore the fort could be taken

and he slain. But (he says) our M. Bussy has marched with Salabat Jang, seized one fort and is attacking another ; therefore his master[1] has recalled him, in doubt of what may happen, and he has returned to Mysore, leaving our sardâr in possession of the fortresses of Srîrangam and Jambukêswaram with the countries between the two rivers, and desires that when you write to M. Bussy, you should ask him to collect only the usual peshkash.

'The reply to Nandi Râjâ may run as follows :—" M. Bussy and his European army are paid by him[2] and are under his control; therefore I cannot interfere, but they must do as Salabat Jang desires. As you are my ally, we have protected your fort and country hitherto. Otherwise you would have lost them. I have written to M. Bussy to help you as far as possible, and I will do so again ; but you should pay our money speedily." ' I added that the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân knew that M. Bussy and his army were in Salabat Jang's pay, that if they wrote about it, a similar reply could be given, and that therefore this device would meet all cases.[3]

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[1] An evident copyist's error says 'Salabat Jang.'

[2] *i.e.*, Salabat Jang.

[3] The English might object that this invasion of Mysore was a violation of the truce concluded with Godeheu.

He agreed that it was very true, and that a letter might be so written after consideration.

He then observed, 'Pâpu Reddi, the old poligar of Turaiyûr, and his people are at Ariyalûr. Instead of bringing them back and reinstating them, it will be better to settle with the new man, and take from him the lakh of rupees he has promised, besides his peshkash of 35,000 rupees. If the new man is removed, and the old man restored, Salabat Jang will come into these parts and Nandi Râjâ will cause trouble, so that no revenue will be got and our money will not be paid. If he did not pay, what could we do? Would you be responsible for the money?' I replied that, inasmuch as I had taken part in the matter, I would not go to sleep over it, but had only opened the matter after seeing that everything was all right, so that he need not be doubtful of getting the money. 'Others may fail to pay,' said I, 'but you may be sure of this.' He would say nothing but that Nandi Râjâ was responsible for their money, and asked who would be responsible for the other man's. I did not like to say more when he thus clung to his opinion, as I knew well that whatever was done contrary to my wishes would fail. Moreover the Governor will receive only what is destined to him.

MAY 1755.

Saturday, May 3.[1]—The following news was received from Vellore the evening of the day before yesterday :—There was a fierce fight between Salabat Jang's troops encamped about five miles from the fort, and the Mysore troops. But M. Bussy got the upper hand, seized Sômavârpêttai and strengthened himself there. Many perished on both sides; but although Râmachandran the Maratha mansabdar (Râjâ Chandrasênan's son) and others were killed, yet the Mysore troops could not stand before the enemy, and they have promised to pay ten lakhs of rupees to M. Bussy and a crore of rupees to Salabat Jang, besides darbâr expenses. Salabat Jang will march to Kolar. Shâh Nawâz Khân, etc., are to march with a small army to Arcot to make preparations. The army will proceed towards Arcot when arrangements have been made about the money. A letter of encouragement has been written to Muhammad 'Alî Khân, and sent with a dress of honour, desiring him to come and settle the affairs of his country, and return. People are leaving Arcot and Vellore in fear, and 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân is preparing to send his family to Madras.

[1] *24th Chittirai, Yuva.*

I reported all this to the Governor alone in the eastern verandah of the hall, whither he had taken me to mention certain matters.

As M. Leyrit, the new Governor, has visited my *agrahâram* I sent Appâvu and Ayyâswâmi to present the Governor with plantains, jacks, guavas, bambulimâs, flowers, sugar, sugar-candy, *pân supârî*, rosewater and nazars of 100 pagodas each. They did so. M. Desvœux and M. Desfresnes then came. As he took the pagodas, the Governor remarked that Ayyâswâmi was like me. M. Desfresnes answered that, when M. Godeheu went to Arumpâtai Pillai's choultry to meet his younger brother returning from Gingee, the two boys paid their respects to him, and that he took them on his knee, and offered them chairs, conversed with them, and was highly pleased with his[1] quick and ready answers, considering that even a man of forty would not understand and reply so respectfully. They thus talked for a quarter of an hour about the former conversation.

Three salutes of 21 guns were fired while mass was being said, and there was continuous firing when the toasts were being drunk after dinner. When Chandâ Sâhib's son came at four o'clock with 'Alî Naqî, a salute of 21 guns was fired. The Governor watched the

[1] *i.e.*, Ayyâswâmi's.

fireworks on the hill at seven o'clock, and returned with the rest to town at half-past ten or eleven, but I remained in the choultry.

A Europe ship reached the roads this afternoon and fired a salute which was returned from the Fort. As the *flamme* was hoisted at the main-mast, all supposed she must be a Europe ship.

Thursday, May 8.[1]—[The Governor said] the commander at Gingee had written that Râyappa Râjâ and a merchant had visited Gingee and that he had imprisoned them as each complained of being cheated by the other. He then asked who Râyappa Râjâ[2] was. I replied that he was the man who came here formerly pretending to the Governor that he was the proper owner of the Kârvetirâjâpâlaiyam, and that, if it were got for him, he would pay certain sums; and that when the old Governor asked me if he really was the owner of the pâlaiyam, I wrote about it and learnt that he was one of the poligar's servants who had been often imprisoned in irons for drinking more than 10 bottles of liquor a day. When I had related to the Governor Râyappa Râjâ's imprisonment, and his being sent with an elephant and an army, he took up the

[1] *29th Chittirai, Yuva.*
[2] See above, Vol. VI, pp. 201, etc.

commander's letter, read it and said with a smile that it contained what I had just said and asked whether a letter should be written ordering him to be beaten and let go. 'That should not be done,' I said, 'he should be brought here; you yourself should order his punishment and release.' He agreed and wrote to the commander there to send him hither.

The Governor then gave me Bhâji Râo's letter to M. Godeheu to get translated into French. I took it and came home.

Sunday, May 11.[1]—When the Governor had gone upstairs after hearing mass this morning, the councillors, officers, writers, ship-people, etc., paid him their respects. I did the same along with the Company's merchants. When the Governor was alone, I gave him a Marathi letter from Varadâ Reddi (who has lately conquered Turaiyûr) to M. Goupil, and the Persian letter of Mu'tabar Khân (son of Husain Sâhib of Vâlikondâpuram) with French translations. After reading them without comment, he said, 'I sent a vakîl to discuss the payment due to us by the poligar of Udaiyârpâlaiyam; but the poligar has not sent a proper reply. You said that, if a small body of troops were sent against him, it would

[1] *1st Vaigâsi, Yuva.*

frighten him into paying the money, all would know our resolution, and he would then do all that we desired. Therefore, as he had plundered the Vriddhachalam, etc., countries belonging to us, our commander sent a detachment against him, and writes that he has seized some of his cattle and imprisoned ten talaiyâris. Shall I direct him to send them hither or shall they be kept there ?' I replied, 'They should be brought here, and we should send orders to the Udaiyâr about the matter.' —'Very well,' he replied, 'you had better write to him now ; and, if he does not reply properly, I will write.'—'I will do so,' I replied.

Tuesday, May 13.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to the Fort, and gave M. Leyrit, the Governor, Morâri Râo's Marathi letter received yesterday together with its French translation. He was sauntering with M. Moraçin on the north of the great hall upstairs. After reading it, he went into the place on the north side which is being walled in, where the arms stand ; I accompanied him. M. du Rocher came and went away after talking with the Governor, who went into his room. When I was talking with the Company's merchants, a chobdar came and

[1] *3rd Vaigâsi, Yuva.*

reminded me that the Governor wanted me. So I went. After reading Morâri Râo's letter, he asked why Morâri Râo had written so strictly about the money. I explained that in money matters, he was a man who would pour *thumbai*-juice down any one's nose to make him pay, though it were his own father or mother; so what wonder that he wrote so to strangers? 'Is he such a miser?' he asked. I replied, 'He will not give a fanam even to his own brother. None gets anything but his pay, for Morâri Râo takes for himself all plunder.' I thus described his miserly nature, and the Governor was astonished.

He added, 'Don't you know he has written that he will besiege the town in order to recover the money?' I repeated that he would not hesitate at writing like that about money.

He then asked me to describe his behaviour from his first coming up to now, which I did, adding, 'You know he writes in his letters that ten or twelve lakhs are due to him. He wrote thus also in M. Dupleix' time, but the latter proved that only three or four lakhs were due, and told him to collect it from Nandi Râjâ. M. Godeheu and M. Dupleix both wrote to him to this effect in September. Then he wrote to M. Godeheu that he would accept his decision, but M. Godeheu replied to him that he could not decide the matter as

he did not know the whole of it. When this correspondence was going on, M. Dupleix sailed for Europe.' When I had thus explained the matter, he asked if a reply should be written to him. I replied that there was no need and that he could wait. He agreed, and remarked that he was surprised that M. Bussy had not sent a word from Salabat Jang's camp.

JUNE 1755.

Wednesday, June 4.[1]—When I went to the Fort at half-past seven this morning, I found M. Leyrit, M. Barthélemy, M. Boyelleau, the Councillors, officers and others. On my paying my respects, the Governor approached me and asked the news. I said all was well.

Murtazâ Sâhib (Mîr Ghulâm Husain's man) brought a notarial copy of the bond for a lakh of rupees lent in 1746. He read it carefully more than once and also M. Dumas' letter from Europe to Mîr. Ghulâm Husain. After reading and returning them, he said to me that the interest on the lakh of rupees would come to a lakh. I replied, '94,000 rupees have been repaid, and there is only a balance of 6,000 rupees on the principal and upwards of 30,000 rupees as interest—36,000 rupees in all. M. Dupleix gave me an account in M. Bourquenoud's hand; and when the accounts are settled between Mîr A'azam 'Alî Khân and Mîr Ghulâm Husain's nephew, and the money is demanded by the latter from the Company, this bond should be taken, the money obtained from the Company and paid, with the full knowledge of Mîr A'azam

[1] *25th Vaigâsi, Yuva.*

'Alî Khân, the proper heir. If any objection is made, the money should be kept separately and paid after the settlement of the dispute.' I said I would speak about it presently. He then told me to bring the account signed by M. Bourquenoud, the accountant, for him to examine. I said that the parties might be brought to an agreement, without troubling them or neglecting our business. He agreed.

I then told him that to-morrow he would be offered a dress of honour and a horse. He agreed and informed Murtazâ Sâhib, who asked that a salute should be fired. When I told the Governor, he asked how many guns should be fired. I said, seven. He said that that should be done. I said it was right for Mîr A'azam 'Alî Khân.

I then continued, 'You listen to what I say, but afterwards don't do accordingly. This brings discredit on those who transact business and belittles your service, but also throws away money. It does indeed. You agreed to one thing about the 50,000 rupees due from Chandâ Sâhib's son, but acted differently. Again you said you would give Imâm Sâhib's son-in-law half the customary mint-privileges, but instead gave him only a dress of honour worth 300 rupees. When you might have made 3,900 rupees, your words lost you 2,000 rupees. Chandâ Sâhib's son was

receiving 4,000 rupees a month and you said he should be given not less than half, but I do not know why you dropped the matter.'

After talking about other matters, I went to the sorting-godown. M. Desfresnes sent for me to sign the council's resolution, giving me a lease of the ten villages in Kârikâl for five years at 4,000 pagodas a year commencing from July. I went and signed it, and, when I was taking leave, he said he would sign and send me a copy. I agreed and came away.

I hear that M. Law and M. Duplan [?] have come from Salabat Jang's army which is attacking Mysore, the former because he cannot agree with M. Bussy and the latter because he is to be sent to Masulipatam.

Thursday, *June 5*.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning, I went to the Governor and paid my respects in the presence of M. Boyelleau, M. Guillard, M. Desfresnes, etc., Councillors, and many other officers and captains. The Governor took me into his room, and when M. Chevreau was there, read the commandant of Gingee's complaint against Nârâyana Sâstri. I observed that he had complained against the amaldâr in spite of his being in the wrong and taking small sums of money. He said, 'The complaint is that, when he was asked to send

[1] *26th Vaigâsi, Yuva.*

peons to capture the six soldiers who had deserted, he had said it was not his business, on which he was threatened with being bound and beaten.' I replied, 'If you listen to them, I cannot collect money in the country. To collect rent from the ryots and others, one has to keep the whip in hand. If, for private gain, the commandants prevent the amaldârs from doing their work properly, and if you, instead of punishing the former, believe what they say, the rents cannot be collected.' I narrated to him what had happened till the present, and took leave.

Saturday, June 7.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning, I went to the Fort. M. Leyrit was standing in the outside hall as usual, surrounded by officers, councillors, etc. I paid my respects. He asked me when Mîr Ghulâm Husain's nephews would visit him. I replied that they had come and that the master-gunner should be ordered to fire a salute of 7 guns. The Governor sent for M. Carpentier and gave him orders. Then he and M. Chevreau read a few letters.

Afterwards the youngest son of Mîr Ghulâm Husain's sister and his brother-in-law (Murtazâ Sâhib) visited the Governor with a valuable dress of honour worth 150 rupees. A salute of

[1] *28th Vaigâsi, Yuva.*

7 guns was fired when they sat down, after having embraced. On mutual enquiry after each other's welfare, they told the Governor about Mîr Ghulâm Husain's lending a lakh of rupees to the Company, of which M. Dupleix took 64,000 rupees, and the payment of 30,000 rupees to Mîr A'azam, so that the balance was 6,000 rupees of the principal and 30,493 rupees, 2 fanams and 27 cash in all, according to the account written by M. Bourquenoud and which had been given to me. M. Leyrit asked me for the account, which I had told him I had. I gave it him. Having read it, he said he would pay the balance, and spoke hopefully about M. Dupleix' money. Saying that other matters would be reported by Murtazâ Sâhib to-morrow, they received rosewater and *pân supârî* and took leave.

Kastûri Rangappan, the vakîl of Pâpu Reddi, the old poligar of Turaiyûr, visited the Governor with a nazar of 11 pagodas and a letter from Pâpu Reddi, which the Governor told me to interpret. It says, 'In consequence of your letter to M. Goupil, the commandant at Srîrangam, desiring him to help me, he sent word about it whereon I, depending upon the might of your favour, overthrew my enemy and recaptured my fort of Turaiyûr. I will perform what I formerly promised. I and my country will be ever at your disposal. So be

pleased to favour me, and act as my vakîl Kastûri Rangappan will request.' When I had reported the contents, M. Leyrit said most joyfully, 'The enemy seized the country because no help was given. Kastûri Rangappan promised, and gave a bond accordingly, that if the Turaiyûr fort was given back, a lakh of rupees should be given. Therefore I sent M. Maissin with an army to his assistance, but, owing to the rains, he was not able to do anything. I then wrote to M. Goupil, asking him to help the poligar as much as possible. I will now write asking him to pay Company's money. Let the vakîl also write to his master.' The Governor also told me to give daily batta to Kastûri Rangappan. I sent word to Vinâyakan about it, took leave and came home.

M. Flacourt and Bâli Chetti have signed the Council's resolution to lease the old Cauvery country for 4,80,000 rupees.

At four o'clock this afternoon M. Leyrit the Governor sent for me and said, 'I wrote to M. Maissin ordering him to threaten the poligars of Ariyalûr and Udaiyârpâlaiyam, so as to keep them in check, that they may not interfere in our affairs. M. Goupil has replied that Udaiyârpâlaiyam belongs to Muhammad'Alî Khân. But did you not tell me that it was ours?' I replied, 'The poligar of

Udaiyârpâlaiyam is under the poligar of Gingee, which fort is ours. Therefore we have demanded money which has been promised. But whenever our people have pressed for the money, he says that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's people are troubling him and that they must be driven away. Again when Muhammad 'Alî Khân asks him, he says that, as he is under the poligar of Gingee, the Pondichery people demand money, and that they must therefore be told not to do so. He has been pleading these excuses these three years since the death of Chandâ Sâhib and has not paid any one. So he has grown fat and wealthy and has been living at ease. For the last three months and a half, I have been sending vakîl Venkata Râo to press him for the money. Besides him, the Bhuvanagiri and Kûvattûr taluks owe 17,000 rupees. As we pressed these two people for the money, they wrote to the English to send two of their people, Mangapati, a Brâhman, and another, to whom they promised something if they would say that they had paid the peshkash regularly and obtain Muhammad 'Alî Khân's sanad. These men[1] agreed because they wanted to get what was offered for themselves, and in order that the poligars should join their side, by reason of our pressure.

[1] *i.e.*, the English.

I hear that their people have arrived but have not yet come to terms about the money.' When I reported thus, he desired me to write to the vakîl to explain everything to M. Maissin and said that he himself would also write. I then took leave and went to my office in the flower-garden. Immediately afterwards the Governor's peon came for me, so I went back. He repeated the details written above and wrote a letter to M. Maissin as follows:—'50,000 rupees are due for each of three years on account of the annual peshkash and darbâr expenses, besides 17,000 rupees from the Bhuvanagiri pargannah. These two amounts must be collected. Venkata Râo (Ranga Pillai's vakîl) is at Udaiyârpâlaiyam about this business and he will relate everything from beginning to end. Do as he says.' The Governor had this letter despatched by a camel-man and told me to write also to Venkata Râo. I said I would do so, took leave and had the letter written and despatched.

Sunday, June 8.[1]—Bhâji Râo's vakîl has come with a dress of honour to visit the Governor about the *chauth*, but he has not yet had an interview.

The harkaras reported to me that presents and a dress of honour were coming from

[1] 29th Vaigâsi, Yuva.

'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân of Cuddapah.[1] I reported this to the Governor who told me to write to them to bring the presents quickly. I wrote to the vakîl accordingly.

Thursday, *June 12*.[2]—This morning I visited the Bishop of Cochin-China who is staying at the Padré's church opposite to my house. I pointed out that his sleep would be disturbed by the music and dancing, etc., on the interchange of visits with *pân supârî*, fruit, flowers, etc., on the occasion of the marriages of Chiranjîvi Ponnâchi, Nannâchi, Kulandai,[3] etc. I therefore prayed him to accept my regrets. He replied with many compliments that I should not doubt he would feel less joy than if his own daughters were being married, and when he gave me leave, he came as far as the gate with me.

I then went to the Fort to pay my respects to M. Leyrit the Governor. I told him that Bhâji Râo's, Murtazâ 'Alî Khân's and his elder brother Razâ 'Alî Khân's presents and letters had arrived. He said that he would see them to-morrow and added, 'About 60 bales of fine brown *Tarnatannes*[4] that the Kârikâl

[1] *Sic*. Probably 'Abd-ul-hamîd Khân.
[2] *2nd Âni, Yuva.*
[3] The first two were Ranga Pillai's daughters, the third his niece.
[4] This cloth is mentioned in the *Délibérations du Conseil Supérieur, 1724-1735*, page 331. As is often the case the precise kind of cloth is not ascertainable.

merchants make must be supplied the Company; speak to them and arrange to get the cloth; or tell the merchants of this place to get it.' I said I would do so.

When M. Desvoeux was there, the Governor mentioned the honours to be shown in connection with the marriages, the practice of the Councillors' accompanying the Governor, the presentation of dresses of honour to the bridegrooms, and the firing of salutes of 13 guns. He added that he would do everything as I wished. I then took leave and came home.

Friday, *June 13*.[1]—In the matter of Bhâji Râo's presents, M. Chevreau, M. Leyrit's private secretary (whose name I do not know) and I, took leave this morning of the Governor and set out with the Governor's palankin, standards, chobdars, etc., music and dancing-girls, the Nayinâr's pikemen, etc. We went by M. Tobin's house, through the Villiyanallûr gate, to visit Narasinga Râo's gumastah (whose name I do not know) who has come from Bhâji Râo and who is lying at the tamarind tope. He came to meet us with great respect and gave us a packet covered with wax cloth containing the dress of honour, and the letter. The packet being placed in the

[1] *3rd Âni, Yuva.*

palankin, was carried to the Fort with music and dancing and placed before the Governor with a nazar of 21 pagodas, when a salute of 15 guns was fired. After mutual embraces and enquiries, the Governor told Bhâji Râo's vakîl to remain at ease in his lodgings till next day when his business should be discussed.

Murtazâ Khân's vakîl then presented a horse and a dress of honour. After embraces, a salute of 11 guns was fired. Muhammad [Tav]akkal then presented a laced dress of honour with a petition about his appointment. After reading it, the Governor said that he would do as he desired and dismissed him. I took leave, went to my office in the flower-garden, and thence came home.

Sunday, June 15.[1]—This is the news of to-day :—I have already written that Guntûr Bâli Chetti and M. Flacourt have taken a lease of the country between the two rivers at Srîrangam for 4,80,000 rupees, together with a lakh of rupees for the Governor's nazar, etc. I hear that, before the Governor presented Guntûr Bâlî Chetti with four yards of broad-cloth, the latter gave him a nazar of 1,000 pagodas, after which he received his presents and accepted the lease of the country.

[1] *5th Âni, Yuva.*

Monday, June 16.[1]—The Governor wanted me this morning, so, as I was setting out to invite him and others to the marriage to-day, a peon met and told me. I therefore went. He said, 'Guntûr Bâli Chetti and M. Flacourt have taken a lease of the country between the two rivers about Srîrangam. Sûrappa Mudali and the rest are now setting out for Srîrangam. If they speak to you about anything, satisfy them and send them on.' I said I would do so.

The Governor then said that a letter must be written to the Râjâ of Cochin-China. I replied that I thought no letters had been written before, but that I would make sure by looking at the Persian list. 'Very good,' he said. Then he gave a French draft of a letter to the Râjâ of Junkceylon to be translated into Persian and sent to the Râjâ. Saying I would do so, I received it, and took leave in order to come home and examine the Persian list to see if any letters had been written to the Râjâ of Cochin-China. Finding that none had been, I sent word immediately about it, and, having called Madanânda Pandit, I gave him the French writing made by the Governor, and told him to put it into Persian. I was then busy about the marriages.

[1] *6th Âni, Yuva.*

At eleven o'clock to-day I heard that Guntûr Bâli Chetti, who has obtained a lease of the country between the two rivers about Srîrangam, presented a nazar of 1,000 pagodas to obtain permission to go thither in a palankin; he got orders accordingly, but when he summoned tom-tom people and pikemen to accompany him in his palankin, the latter refused to accompany a Kômutti, and Guntûr Bâli Chetti went unaccompanied to the Second's house, and thence home. I think he cannot manage his lease even for two months, and thereafter he will be put to great trouble. Besides Subbâ Jôsier has already predicted that this Guntûr fellow will suffer in 1755–1756; this is a proof of it. It will surely come to pass. In two months this Guntûr man will be in trouble according to the astrologer's predictions.

At five Appâvu and Annâswâmi being dressed, with two elephants, with one silver and one velvet covered howdah, accompanied by pikemen, standards, etc., were sent to invite and escort the Governor to the pandal. M. Leyrit the Governor in the state palankin, with white cloth spread before him, the peacock fan and other marks of honour, reached the pandal at six o'clock with M. Barthélemy and other councillors and officers. When he sat down, a salute of 48 guns was fired. The

Governor then examined the pandal, etc., and remarked to M. Barthélemy and others that he did not know that the Tamils celebrated their marriages so finely. M. Guillard replied that this was not a hundredth part as fine as my eldest daughter's marriage. 'Really!' the Governor replied with wonder. M. Guillard told me this.

The Governor watched the festivities till ten o'clock, and when they sat down to table, they drank my health. They remained till mid-night. Eight salutes of 48 guns each were fired,—such grandeur as was never seen before. The Governor then said he must go; and before he left, the guests were garlanded and he was given an English diamond ring worth 500 pagodas. I gave M. Barthélemy a ring worth 100 pagodas, and the other councillors a roll of silk according to each man's rank. Then all departed with the same marks of honour as at the time of their coming, I myself accompanying them as far as the tobacco godown, where the Governor said that I need not go further, as I was needed at the festivities. Thus the Governor returned to the Fort with all marks of honour, while I attended to the marriage.

Tuesday, June 17.[1]—I did not go out to-day by reason of the marriage. M. Guillard and

[1] *7th Âni, Yuva*

his wife came to see the pandal. He said, 'To-day I dined with the Governor who looks upon you as nothing less than his minister. He praised you much, saying that no one was as intelligent and broad-minded as you, for which reason both M. Dupleix and M. Godeheu had favoured you, though for a while under Madame Dupleix, it was not so.' I have written this in brief, for fear of seeming to boast.

At seven o'clock this morning (in the *Karkataka lagna* [1]) a post was fixed for Appâvu's marriage,[2] and rosewater and *pân supârî* were distributed to all. When all had gone, I was busy with the marriage. Salutes of 15 guns were fired when the bridegrooms set out for and returned from the feast, and when presents were given them.

Thursday, June 19.[3]—At seven o'clock this morning, the Governor sent for me. When I went to him, a council of war which had resolved to hang a deserter, had broken up. He said that a letter must be written to Nandi Râjâ, adding, 'M. Goupil has written that Nandi Râjâ sent Haidar Nâyakkan and a few troopers to help Varadâ Reddi (his new poligar) against Pâpu Reddi, the old one[4], who is under

[1] The period in each day under the dominance of Cancer.
[2] *Cf.* p. 279, n. 1 *supra.*
[3] *9th Âni, Yuva.*
[4] Poligar of Turaiyûr.

our protection. Tell Nandi Râjâ that in consequence of his letter written before he left Srîrangam, a letter was sent ordering him to be treated kindly, that therefore he should not have sent Haidar Nâyakkan against Pâpu Reddi, the former poligar, to break our friendship, and that he must write ordering Haidar Nâyakkan to obey the commander at Srîrangam.' Thus he gave me a draft of a French letter which I have translated into Telugu and despatched.

Sunday, June 29:[1]—At eight o'clock this morning, I went to the Fort and paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, on his return from church with the councillors, captains of the Europe ships, officers, etc. He returned my compliments and told me to fetch Nandi Râjâ's vakîl. When he came, the Governor said a letter should be written to Nandi Râjâ to the following effect :—' Letters have been sent to M. Bussy and Salabat Jang according to his letter, saying that, as the Mysore Râjâ is under the French flag, he must not be attacked or put to trouble, and that only the usual peshkash should be collected. Before the letters arrived, they had given battle and were on the point of capturing the fort. Immediately, they ceased to attack and demanded the

[1] *19th Âni, Yuva.*

usual peshkash. Reply was made that even that could not be paid. The French therefore decided to put a boy of the royal family on the throne ; and this boy had been brought and installed as Râjâ with the usual ceremonies in the name of the French. But then a letter was written to M. Bussy who explained everything to Salabat Jang and settled the matter for 52 lakhs, for the payment of which a long period was allowed. Thereon M. Bussy returned to Hyderabad with Salabat Jang's army. But in spite of all this help, and the Mysoreans being under French protection, Nandi Râjâ has removed Pâpu Reddi of Turaiyûr who was under the protection of M. Dupleix and M. Godeheu, and appointed Varadâ Reddi in his place. Pâpu Reddi then strengthened himself to recapture Turaiyûr and sought our help. Thus the French flag was hoisted in Turaiyûr. Letters have now come saying that he is sending a party to cause trouble. Can this be done? I have already written to him about it. You should also write to him asking him not to interfere in this affair and to make good the losses already sustained. Write also to Râmi Reddi of Sêndamangalam. If he acts accordingly, well and good ; otherwise, I cannot tell what will happen.'

Mysore Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan took leave saying that such a letter should be

written. I went to my office in the flower-garden.

Monday, June 30.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to the Fort and paid my respects to the Governor when he was in the sorting-godown, examining the Yânâm cloth. He returned my compliments.

I then said that the presents from 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah[2] should be received. He agreed and asked how many guns should be fired. I said, 13.

Therefore I went with standards, the Naynâr's pikemen, music and dancing, etc., and with the Governor's state palankin to Arunâchala Chetti's house where the vakîl of 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah has been staying. He then brought 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân's presents, which consisted of a rich dress of honour worth 500 rupees and a horse, to the accompaniment of music and dancing and presented a nazar of 11 pagodas. A salute of 13 guns was fired. Haidar Khân's vakîl, Bâlâji Pandit, gave a nazar of 7 rupees. Afterwards the Governor was told that M. Dupleix had been unfriendly, and that M. Godeheu who succeeded him had returned to Europe though he desired that their friendship should increase, but now that he had succeeded, he should see that this was

[1] *20th Âni, Yuva.* [2] Probably 'Abd-ul-hamîd Khân is meant.

done. The Governor replied that he would certainly do so, and dismissed them, saying, that they might live at ease and that he would talk with them at leisure.

Muttiya Pillai, the Company's Kârikâl merchant, presented the Governor with a nazar of 100 Porto Novo pagodas, praying that the Company's trade which had suffered should be made to flourish. He promised to do so and told him to return to-morrow.

JULY 1755.

Friday, July 4.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I paid my respects to the Governor at the Fort. He thanked me. I delivered the Persian letters from 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah and his vakîl Haidar Khân who is at Tranquebar, along with their French translations. The Governor read them and asked how he could restore Chidambaram to them. I said I would suggest some other plan. He replied that I could do that to-morrow, as a council was to be held to-day.

Saturday, July 5.[2]—At half-past seven this morning I went to the Fort and paid my respects to the Governor. He returned my compliments.

Letters were received from Manôji Appâ of Tanjore, with two spotted *jamawars;* a spotted *kattani*, a lace turban, a piece of gold brocade and a sash—6 articles worth altogether 270 rupees. The messengers paid their respects, and prayed that, as he had come from Europe, he would see that their friendship increased. The Governor said that he would do so and ordered them to be given batta on the Company's account.

[1] *24th Âni, Yuva.*

[2] *25th Âni, Yuva.*

Sêshâ Râo and the younger brother of Dakshinâmûrti Sâstri (Sau Bhâji Râo's *guru*) brought the following presents for the Governor:—A costly *jamawar*, a spotted [*kattani*], a gold and silver spotted turban, a *bâjuband*, and a sash—5 articles in all worth 250 rupees.

They said, 'You and Bhâji Râo are certain friends, but may our visit increase your friendship! Sêshâ Râo set apart a village in the Trichinopoly country for charitable purposes; and the charity continues. We relate this because we are as one, and you should therefore do what he desires. As we are returning home, any message for Bhâji Râo should be given us, so that he may be told and your friendship may increase.' The Governor replied favourably, 'I will certainly do so and your business will prosper.' He also ordered batta to be given on the Company's account. I took leave and went to my office in the flower-garden.

Monday, July 7.[1]—Gôvinda Râo, gumastah of Narasinga Râo (Bhâji Râo's vakîl) informed me this morning that Narasinga Râo had written to him that, when the brother-in-law of 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân, killedar and subahdar of Savanûr and Bankâpuram, was in the fort, Muzaffar Khân under a pretence of friendship had imprisoned him and seized the killa.

[1] *27th Âni, Yuva.*

Tuesday, July 8.[1]—I reported the following news to the Governor this morning:—that the commander at Tiruviti was entering Pariah houses by night, ravishing women, beating the amaldâr when questioned, and doing other evil deeds; that the eldest son of Chellakanakarâya Pillai of the Vriddhachalam country, who helped us at Tittagudi, had quarrelled with his younger brother who went to Muhammad 'Alî Khân, collected troops, and attacked him; that when the commandant was told that Tittagudi (a place yielding 20,000 or 30,000 rupees in revenue) was on the point of being captured by Muhammad 'Alî Khân, and was asked to drive him off, he replied that he needed the Governor's orders and demanded 500 rupees.

He then asked me about Salabat Jang. I replied, 'Salabat Jang, M. Bussy, etc., marched with their armies to the Kistna, which was full, so they and other nobles crossed the river on elephants; but when the rest tried to cross by *butis*[2], two sank and 2,000 men perished. This news has been received in Vellore. They must have reached Golconda.' The Governor replied that my account of M. Bussy's crossing the Kistna was true, but that he had heard

[1] *28th Âni, Yuva.*

[2] Literally baskets. *Quere*, basket-boats? The number of men lost is evidently exaggerated.

nothing about the loss of men. I replied that it was mentioned in my news from Vellore.

I then said that the killedar of Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân's elder brother's son, had been seized by 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân and Muzaffar Khân who had approached the fort under pretence of friendship, so that 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân managed the killa with Muzaffar Khân. 'Is that so?' the Governor said. I took leave and went to my office in the flower-garden.

Sunday, July 13.[1]—I hear that M. Véry is going to Utramallûr with a few soldiers and sepoys and two cannon, as a misunderstanding has arisen between the English and our people, wherefore English soldiers and sepoys with a few officers have been sent to Chingleput and Karunguli forts with powder, shot, etc. This is the news that has been spread these seven or eight days, and accordingly people are going. I think that something may happen.

Monday, July 14.[2]—M. Véry visited the Governor this morning to take leave before setting out for Utramallûr with 60 soldiers, sepoys, shot, powder and cannon. I was present. M. Véry said to me that he was going to Utramallûr and that he would be pleased to do any business I wished. I thanked him and

[1] *1st Âdi, Yuva.*

[2] *2nd Âdi, Yuva.*

asked why he was taking soldiers. He replied, 'It is reported that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's man, a Moghul, intends to attack the Karunguli country; so I must take what is needed in readiness, should he stretch out his hand. I think we shall have war.' Then the Governor came in. M. Véry took leave and departed. It is said there will be war; but it remains to be seen.

Thursday, July 17.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to the Fort and paid my respects to M. Leyrit as he was sauntering in the big upstairs hall on the south running east and west. He complimented me. M. Bourquenoud the councillor showed the Governor the French translation of a cadjan letter he had received from the Kolastry Râjâ of Malabar, formerly called Râjâ of Boyanore, and gave the Governor another letter from the Râjâ for him. The Governor gave me his letter to be interpreted. The contents are as follows:—'To your Lordship's Grace, M. Leyrit, Captain and Director-General, these. You know the ancient friendship between me and the Company. Be pleased to continue it for ever without breach. I am ready to help you in all things, and am rejoiced at your coming to the Pondichery Government. No one better

[1] *5th Âdi, Yuva.*

understands the business of the Company, or my affairs, or our friendship. Send therefore a trustworthy person to settle affairs here, and also write what should be done. You will have learnt everything from Ganapati whom I have sent with orders. Be pleased to send a speedy reply—written this 14th day of May 1755.'[1] When I had interpreted this, the Governor desired me to tell the Brâhman who brought the letter that M. Louët refused to recognize or treat this man as Râjâ until he had been recognized as such by the Râjâ of Chirakkal. When I did so, the Brâhman replied, 'The Râjâs of Chirakkal and Kôlattanâd and others have given him that title, address him as Râjâ and show him all respect. M. Louët alone refuses to call him Râjâ and treat him as such.' M. Desfresnes and M. Bourquenoud said that M. Louët was wrong, adding, 'Formerly this Râjâ granted us lands; and he fought with us against the Râjâs of Kôlattanâd and Chirakkal, for which we should seek to increase his honour and prosperity. If we do not, we shall be despised by those who see and hear, and God will not permit it.' The Kolastry Râjâ's Brâhman then said, 'My Râjâ says that the Dutch, English and the Portuguese, and the Europeans at Tranquebar, etc., receive almost all

[1] *4th Vaigâsi*, 930 (Quilon era).

the pepper produced in Malabar while you receive only a little. If you will help him, he will secure all the pepper for you and help you in all political affairs.' The Governor told the Brâhman that he would to-day write a letter to Mahé and that he might stay here till the reply came. I was then told to get the cadjan letter translated into French without delay. So I went to M. Le Beaume, got it translated, gave it to the Governor, and then went to my office in the flower-garden.

Saturday, July 19.[1]—I went to M. Leyrit the Governor this morning when he was walking up and down talking with M. Carpentier, the master-gunner and two officers. M. Solminiac then came. I paid my respects to the Governor who complimented me and asked why coolies had not yet been got for the powder factory. I replied, 'I arranged to get coolies daily from the villages; and the peon of the powder factory says that he will go and bring them, if they do not come.' The master-gunner said that 30 coolies had come but that 200 or 250 more were wanted. The Governor asked him why so many. The master-gunner replied that there was work for them. The Governor said that so many were not required; and the other said that at least 50 must be

[1] *7th Âdi, Yuva.*

got. Thereon the Governor observed angrily that so many were not necessary but that 25 or 30 would do. He then turned to me and asked the news. I replied, 'Mr. Clive, formerly an officer at Madras who made money when he seized the fort of Arcot, and got two or three lakhs of rupees when the forts of Chingleput, Covelong, etc., were captured, then returned to Europe; and is now said to be coming out as Governor of Fort St. David; as the French and the English are preparing for war in Europe, 10 or 20 men-of-war are coming out. Here again will be war; I have already reported that all the available soldiers and sepoys have been despatched to the several fortified places with powder, shot and other munitions of war. They are now busy with this.' The Governor said, 'I think that there will be war in Europe. It is true that Mr. Clive is coming, but not 10 or 20 men-of-war. There will be no war till next year. Are the English getting supplies of cloth?' I replied, 'They have advanced 30,000 pagodas to the merchants, 10,000 to each merchant, but that is all I have heard, and I do not know what will happen.'

Thursday, July 24.[1]—When I went to M. Leyrit the Governor this morning, he asked

[1] *12th Âdi, Yuva.*

the news. I said, 'I hear that Muhammad 'Alî Khân and Manôji Appâ have reached Shiyâli. He means to send his army to Arcot by way of Udaiyârpâlaiyam and himself march with a small detachment by way of Devikôttai and Cuddalore to Arcot and thence to Madras. He means to settle with 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân at Arcot who will not go to pay over his perquisites, or, if he fails, he will remove him and appoint another. I hear that they are daily collecting munitions of war at Madras and will begin the war next month, on the receipt of news by the Europe ships. This news is what was being said before. They are also collecting paddy, rice and other provisions.'—'We are doing the same,' the Governor replied, 'have you not seen as much? In any case, there will be war from January next.' I said, 'When I formerly told you there would be war in July, you replied, no, no, that could not be as M. Godeheu had made a peace for 18 months before he sailed. But there is a rumour that war has broken out in Europe; that is why the French and the English are preparing for war. I think sharp fighting will begin in January or February, and will continue afterwards.'—'True,' the Governor replied, 'there is a country called America to the north of Europe which is being disputed by two princes. The English

are helping one, and the French the other; so we are at war there.[1] I think there will be war here also. They are therefore preparing and we are doing the same, expecting news by the ships that will arrive in August or September. We are therefore mounting cannon on the walls and furnishing ourselves with other munitions. They are doing the same.' I replied, 'What I said was not without reason. Never do we grow prosperous without war. As our prosperity is to increase, there must be war.' The Governor said that this was what I had said on his arrival and cloth must be got in quickly.

Afterwards the Governor sent for me again; when I went, he gave me two cadjan letters to be interpreted. One of the letters was from the manager of the Srîrangam temple to Paramânandan, saying that the country between the two rivers did not belong to the [Mysore?] country, nor was under their management; that consequently their amaldâr had no authority there; and since the country was separate, his management could not be permitted, but that Mannâru Pillai might manage it. The other letter was written in Telugu characters but in the Kanarese

[1] Apparently a version of the American disputes calculated for Indian ears. The position of America I take to be slip of Ranga Pillai's.

language about the grant of villages by Nandi Râjâ to the Jambukêswaram temple. When I had reported the contents to the Governor, he told me to get the letters translated into French. I said I would do so, took leave and came away.

Friday, July 25.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning, when I went to M. Leyrit the Governor, I heard that M. Melon had written from Bimlipatam to M. Leyrit the Governor, to me, M. Legou, M. Le Beaume, etc., together with a copy of a cowle in Telugu granting ground two hours' journey in extent at Cuttack or thereabouts for a harbour, etc. In his letters to me and to the Governor he says that he has sent it to us. I hear that the Governor has read his letter.

Saturday, July 26.[2]—M. Leyrit the Governor went to church this morning for the festival accompanied by the councillors, officers, etc., according to custom and heard mass. When he had gone upstairs, all paid their respects and I did the same. I approached him and said, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân has left Trichinopoly and is at Shiyâli. Owing to freshes in the Coleroon, four boats are being prepared at Devikôttai and I hear that, when they are ready, he will come this side of the Coleroon,

[1] *13th Âdi, Yuva.*

[2] *14th Âdi, Yuva.*

march to Fort St. David and Cuddalore, and thence to Arcot. It is said that he has 500 horse and 2,000 foot with him, but the real number is 300 and 1,000, respectively; and there may be as many Carnatic people. Two hundred soldiers and officers who left Madras with two cannon, halted last night at Kûnimêdu and Kâlâpêttai and were seen to-day on their march to Fort St. David. Our people have alarmed Muhammad 'Alî Khân and I think this party is marching in order to show how strong he is.'

As I was reporting this news, a Brâhman harkara brought a letter from the English captain who is commanding the soldiers, saying that his soldiers were going to Fort St. David, and that he had been instructed to ask permission to march past the town-gate to save their having to take a round-about way. The Governor said that they must march round, so the harkara departed. But he was at once recalled and told that they might march past the town-gate.

M. Solminiac then came, to protest at great length against soldiers from Madras being suffered to do this.

Afterwards I reported that, when I pressed M. Le Beaume about M. Melon's money, the former said that he would only pay the balance remaining when he had repaid himself, adding

that I ought not to have seized property which he had attached, and that he would pay as soon as the money for the goods sold had been received ; to which I had replied that I should have been able to recover my money if he had said that before but that I had been deceived by his promises of payment, trusting to his friendly words, and that I would insist on money justly due to me. I then went to my office in the flower-garden.

Sunday, July 27.[1]—I paid my respects to M. Leyrit the Governor this morning and said, 'One of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's officers with five soldiers is at Chidambaram conferring with the commandant of the English people there. Muhammad 'Alî Khân who has been waiting on the other side of the Coleroon owing to heavy floods, is arranging for chelingas to cross the river when the water has fallen. I have received a letter to this effect.' The Governor asked what was the purpose of the 200 or 250 soldiers and officers with two guns who marched by at half-past seven last night on their way from Madras for Fort St. David. I replied that as Muhammad 'Alî Khân was expected, they intended to join him and proceed to Arcot and that it was done to support Muhammad 'Alî Khân in his visit to these

[1] 15th Âdi, Yuva.

parts, and strike terror into men's minds. Thereon the Governor asked why he was coming at all. I replied that he would never have come without some new object, nor would the English otherwise have sent for him. 'I think so too,' the Governor replied.

I then related to the Governor at his request Muhammad 'Alî Khân's negotiations after Chandâ Sâhib's death, M. Dupleix' disagreement with him, and M. Dupleix' desire to bring Tanjore and Trichinopoly forts and even Mysore and all the country this side of the Kistna under the control of Pondichery. I added that if M. Godeheu had not come himself but had only sent his troops, everything would have happened as M. Dupleix had desired. After talking of these things for an hour and a half, I came home. At noon the Governor attended a feast at the house of the ship's captain.

AUGUST 1755.

Monday, August 4.[1]—At seven o'clock this morning, I went to M. Leyrit, the Governor's house. M. Boyelleau told me that the Governor had complained to him and others that business had been upset by my staying at home for some days on account of sickness, and that I should not have done so, if I had had only his welfare in mind. I replied that I had stayed away only a few days owing to ill-health. M. Boyelleau replied that the Governor was making a fuss about it and advised me not to do so again. Just then M. Leyrit came out, after bathing and dressing, so I paid my respects and said, 'When Mr. Starke the day before yesterday visited Muhammad 'Alî Khân, who is halting at the Tiruvêndipuram mettu, and offered a nazar of 21 gold rupees, the latter declined them ; and advancing to meet him, received him with great respect, took him in, gave him a seat, and ordered a salute of 21 guns to be fired. After mutual greetings, he gave him *pân supârî* at the time of leaving and another salute of 21 guns.' Then I took leave, and

[1] *23rd Âdi, Yuva.*

departed, as the captain of the Europe ship had come.

Tuesday, August 5.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor. He returned my compliments. Many then came to pay their respects and talked for a long time. As the time was unsuitable for seeing the Governor, I left; but I was sent for at nine o'clock, and asked what should be done about the mansabdar who is bringing a title, a mansab parwâna and a dress of honour from Salabat Jang. I replied, 'A tent must be pitched outside the north gate. All the sepoys and soldiers should be drawn up in a line from [the Governor's] house to the Madras gate. You should set out in a palankin accompanied by the naubat, the Fish standard, and the other marks of honour, music, etc., followed by the councillors and others in their vehicles, and preceded by dancers, stage-people and musicians, with peacock-feather fans, chowries, and cloth spread on the ground. In this splendid manner you should go to the tent pitched outside the town-gate and sit down. I with two councillors should then go to the washing-place at the Bound-hedge with music and dancing to bring the mansabdar who will halt

[1] *24th Âdi, Yuva.*

there. On his arrival at the tent with the presents, you should rise and embrace him and receive the dress of honour and parwâna, a salute of 21 guns being fired from the surrounding walls. You should then enquire after Salabat Jang's welfare and his man must ask after yours. Then the *turra* and *sarpêch* should be tied on to the hat, the pendant be hung from your neck, and the *cummerband* tied round your waist. The rest of the presents should be put in a palankin and at the time of your rising 21 guns should be fired, and again when you pass the gate to enter your house, and yet again when you take your seat. Then the Second and the other councillors and the rest will offer you nazars, and receive *pân supârî* in return. You will then assign lodgings for the mansabdar, and order the accustomed allowances to be given, treating him in a proper manner. After that you will be at liberty, but, as the mansab title is newly bestowed, a feast should be given that day, and at night fireworks, coloured lights, etc., should be displayed. At dinner time again salutes should be fired.' I have written thus in brief, but I related all in detail. The Governor agreed and asked if M. Godeheu had done so. I replied that, in M. Godeheu's time, no presents had been received, and so nothing of the sort had been

done; but in M. Dupleix' time, all this respect had been shown.

Friday, August 8.[1]—This morning I paid my respects to M. Leyrit the Governor, and said there was news that Muhammad 'Alî Khân, who had been in a tent pitched at the Tiruvêndipuram mettu, had been driven to remove into the chowkidar's house by the heavy rains of the day before yesterday which had filled the tent with water, and that yesterday he had pitched his tent about a mile westwards and abode there intending to march to Arcot to-day or to-morrow.

Then the Governor gave me a letter from 'Abd-ul-hamîd Khân Bahâdûr of Cuddapah and asked where the harkaras said the Cuddapah Nawâb was. I related their reports as follows:—'The Cuddapah Nawâb has halted with his army between Kêlâr and the fort at Kadappanattam. He has collected money from certain powerful poligars and imprisoned them, and is seeking to collect money from others. When Nâsîr Jang came, he left some cannon in charge of the killedar of Vellore and then ended his days here. Afterwards Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân fought and fell. Salabat Jang was then set upon the throne; and the cannon, which were left

[1] *27th Âdi, Yuva.*

behind in his hurry to go to Hyderabad, were kept by the Vellore man. The Nawâb of Cuddapah has now demanded their return, and his request has been granted.' Thereon the Governor asked whether Muzaffar Khân was still at Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram. I replied, 'I hear he is still there. He sent Gâduthi Gôvinda Râo to Morâri Râo offering to join him; to which Morâri Râo agreed and sent him presents of a dress of honour, an elephant, etc., together with 50,000 rupees for his expenses. Muzaffar Khân is going to take service under Morâri Râo. This is the news that has been written.' I added that when 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân ordered the seizure of Muzaffar Khân's wife and children who set out in M. Barthélemy's time to join Muzaffar Khân after staying a month at Pôlûr, letters were written to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân, the killedar of Vellore, by Muzaffar Khân and Morâri Râo, whereon he ordered them to be sent on to Muzaffar Khân.

When I was reporting that I had received the above news, Husain, the mahout, delivered a French writing with salaams. The Governor took it and said to Husain, the mahout, 'Chandâ Sâhib gave you a letter about the dues from Hasan-ud-dîn Khân, saying that Hasan-ud-dîn Khân should not be held responsible, as Chandâ Sâhib had paid the

amount. But as soon afterwards Chandâ Sâhib died, the letter was suppressed and the money is now demanded. They wish the matter to be decided by arbitration.' Husain, the mahout, replied, 'When I have the arbitrators' decree, why should I seek another arbitration? Let the matter be decided by Chandâ Sâhib[1] or in some other way; and I will be satisfied if any proof is brought that the money has been paid me.' The Governor observed that that was what M. du Bausset had said; and having read the writing given by Husain, the mahout, he went into his room but did not send for me again.

This afternoon the following news was received:—Mr. Starke, the Governor of Fort St. David, at four o'clock yesterday visited Muhammad 'Alî Khân who was halting near Tiruvêndipuram and, after mutual greetings, conversed with him for about an hour. Having taken farewell of Muhammad 'Alî Khân, Mr. Starke returned to the Manjakuppam garden. I must tell the Governor this afternoon or to-morrow morning the news written by the overseer at Bâhûr yesterday saying that he[2] was halting at night-fall on the other side of the Tiruvêndipuram river with his family on his way to Arcot.

1 *i.e.*, Razâ Sâhib, his son. 2 Muhammad 'Alî Khân.

At half-past eleven to-day M. Barthélemy reported to the Governor that the new Nayinâr had sent for people, tied them up and beaten them and released them on obtaining 20 or 30 [ ], that there was no limit to his injustice (of which also he gave proof) and added that he should not be continued. Thereupon Nallappa Nayinâr, the newly appointed man, was dismissed and imprisoned, and Periyanna Nayinâr restored with a present of 3 yards of broad-cloth. The latter then visited M. Barthélemy's house, with music and dancing, and presented him, his wife, and his daughter, with nazars of 21, 11 and 10 pagodas respectively. M. Barthélemy then advised Periyanna Nayinâr to behave wisely instead of imitating Nallappa Nayinâr, who did such injustice in the town, and to do nothing without first telling the authorities. After he had been dismissed with a dress of honour, he came to my house with the same pomp, gave me a nazar of 11 pagodas and Annâswâmi and his mother nazars of 5 pagodas each, and thanked me for having been pleased to advise M. Leyrit, the Governor, to re-appoint him the Nayinâr of the town. Thus he fell at my feet declaring that he was my servant and begging me to treat him with kindness. I told him that his continuing in office depended upon his treatment of the people in the

town, and that, if he treated them well, he would be confirmed in his office. He replied that, when formerly Râjagôpâla Nâyakkan (Vîrâ Nâyakkan's son) was proposed for the post of dalavâi, he had proposed his son and Râjagôpâlan, whom I had approved, so that if I favoured them with promotion and gave them *pân supârî* they would live in happiness. So I gave Periyanna Nayinâr a dress of honour and his son and Râjagôpâla Nâyakkan broad-cloth. They took leave and departed.

Sunday, August 10.[1]—When I went to the Fort at half-past seven this morning, M. Leyrit, the Governor was about to go to the Church for mass. I paid my respects and he asked me the news. I said that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had left Devanâmpattanam and Tiru-vêndipuram the morning of the day before yes-terday and had camped near Tiruviti, which he left yesterday morning and that I should not know his halting place until news came.

The *Duc d' Acquitaine* anchored in the roads and fired seven guns like a country ship ; an equal number was fired from the shore. She put in at Mascareigne on her way from Europe and her captain is M. [ ]. The Governor went to the Church and heard mass before the captain had landed. He returned after mass

[1] *29th Âdi, Yuva.*

with the councillors, officers, etc., and went upstairs. The captain of the Europe ship, the *Duc d'Acquitaine*, having come ashore, delivered the Europe letters to the Governor and had an interview. A letter came for me from M. Duvelaer at Paris, dated February 10. When the Governor gave it me, I took it and went to my office at the flower-garden. Another letter was also brought by the *Bourbon*, dated at London in July last year. This ship brought [ ] silver and [ ] broad-cloth.

M. Leyrit, the Governor, sent for me later and said that he had received a letter from the Governor of Fort St. David asking that as Muhammad 'Alî Khân's army was marching to Arcot, the amaldârs should be ordered to supply provisions on payment. I said I would write to the amaldârs, and having taken leave, I wrote to the amaldârs of Kalkurichi, Tiruviti, Villupuram, Gingee, etc., countries.

Monday, August 11.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to the Fort to pay my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor and said, 'The amaldâr of Grâmam writes that Muhammad 'Alî Khân, who was encamped near Grâmam, was to reach Tirukkôyilûr on the 10th. Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops—soldiers,

[1] *30th Âdi, Yuva.*

sepoys and troopers—are marching with ten or twelve cannon, etc., without plundering on their way. Wherever they halt, they send word to the amaldârs saying that they will not plunder the villages or tread down the crops, and, so that no complaint may afterwards be made, they have procured orders for their bazaar-people to be supplied on payment with all necessaries, even straw and firewood. The people thereabouts are saying that they have never before seen troops march so quietly and they are astonished at it. These troops are under complete discipline.' The Governor said, 'Did you write, as I told you yesterday, that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's people should be supplied with whatever they required ?' I replied that I had written yesterday and that I had received news that, before these letters reached the amaldârs, the necessaries were being supplied.

Srînivâsa Râo and others (people belonging to Nawâb 'Abd-ul-hamîd Khân of Cuddapah) presented a French writing saying that they had been waiting here for two months, as M. Godeheu had written to their Nawâb that, if he sent a vakîl, he would give the Nawâb the Chidambaram country, on which they had come here ; and they prayed that the Governor would finish this business for the Nawâb

who was encamped with his troops at Mulavâyalkolâm. After reading this, the Governor going inside, said that the Chidambaram country ought not to be given him and asked what answer should be returned. I replied, 'When M. Godeheu was here, he wrote that he would settle their affair when their vakîl arrived. As the vakîl did not come, he sailed for Europe having distinctly stated that, as there was to be no war between the English and the French for 18 months, each side must keep the country in its possession, but that positive orders would come from Europe within 18 months, until when affairs should remain as they were without alteration. As he has made such positive arrangements, nothing can be done until orders come from Europe, but encouraging letters may be written to 'Abd-ul-hamîd Khân of Cuddapah and Haidar Khân (Mudâmiah's son-in-law) saying that, with due regard to their friendship, affairs will be managed suitably to the occasion.' The Governor agreed, and, having repeated this to Srînivâsa Râo and Bâlâji Pandit, he wrote French letters to these two persons, and said that, if I brought Persian translations thereof, he would seal and despatch them to-morrow.

He then gave me a French writing with instructions to send two letters to the killedar

and faujdar of Surat. I said I would get them written, and came away.

The Governor sent for me again and said that the commandant at Vriddhachalam had complained that the amaldâr had not supplied him with rice, fuel, etc., that he had indeed refused to supply them on repeated requests, and that he had incited people to complain that their sheep had been seized. I replied that the commandant had insisted that the amaldâr should give seven sheep for a pagoda when only four are given in the country, that he also wanted the amaldâr to defray his expenses, and that he was causing many troubles, demanding 500 rupees as a present. The Governor said that he would himself send orders and told me also to write a letter to the amaldâr. I agreed.

Thursday, August 14.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I paid my respects to M. Leyrit the Governor, and gave him Nandi Râjâ's Persian letter with its French translation and the copy of the agreement promising Nandi Râjâ the Trichinopoly fort and country, also with a French translation. The Governor read them and took them inside. Of those present only M. Bourquenoud went in with him. M. Pichard and the other officers departed.

[1] *2nd Âvani, Yuva.*

M. Chevreau asked me for a French translation of the agreement which Ayyan Sâstri had executed in my favour. I told him that he could ask Ayyan Sâstri who would write it out. He went in somewhat angrily. The Governor then sent for me and wrote additions in French on the letters to the killedar and the faujdar of Surat, which letters he kept with him.

He then gave me the letter for 'Abd-ul-hamîd Khân, Nawâb of Cuddapah, saying that, as I knew all about it, I could tell them that nothing could be done, as M. Godeheu before his departure, had ordered that for 18 months, until orders came from Europe, each side should continue to hold the country in its possession, after which arrangements could be made by both sides in obedience to the orders from Europe, when everything should be done in accordance with circumstances and regard should be had to their friendship. I was to tell Haidar Khân that a letter to this effect should be written. I replied that they should be sent for to hear this in his presence and dismissed with a present of broadcloth.

I then showed him the letters written yesterday to Bhâji Râo, to Narasinga Râo his vakîl, to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân and Razâ 'Alî Khân (his elder brother) proposing that they should be sealed and dealt with in the same

manner. So saying, I placed them on the table.

The Governor then said, 'M. Porcher writes from Kârikâl that Sakkâji Nâyakkan,[1] the minister at Tanjore, with 1,000 people including 20 musketeers, is going on a pilgrimage to Benares, for which passes are desired. I think they will be useful from Chidambaram to Sadras. Is this so?' I replied, 'Our authority now extends only so far; but our orders will be respected in the countries beyond Nellore, Masulipatam, Narasapur, Chicacole, Ellore, Rajahmundry and even to Jagannath. Shaikh Ibrâhîm is amaldâr in these parts, and Vijayarâma Râjâ the renter. All the Europeans and commandants there are under the orders of M. Moracin, so if the passes are written in French, they will be respected in those places as well. Moreover there are Frenchmen at Hugli, Chandernagore, Patna, etc., places, where our words will be respected also.'—'You are right,' the Governor replied, 'write out the passes and bring them to me.' According to custom, I wrote them in Persian and Marathi, and the Governor wrote in French, signed them and told me to get them sealed with the Persian seal. I did so accordingly.

[1] See the *Tanjore Manual*, p. 789.

The Governor then [asked] if the French were so widely respected. 'Yes,' I replied, adding, 'Do the English, Dutch or other nations of Europe command such respect? And among the Muhammadans no one is so respected except Salabat Jang. Though affairs are not as they should be here in Pondichery, which was equal to the seat of the Pâdshâh's throne, yet by God's grace you will set matters right.' The Governor smiled and said, 'Formerly when Nâsîr Jang was slain and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân appointed subahdar of the Deccan, the Pâdshâh's throne was held in esteem, but now it has lost its dignity, which it will never recover.' I replied, 'A Brâhman who came here in 1744 and 1745, when the English ships were seizing our vessels from Manilla, China and Achin, foretold that Madras would be captured, that our troops would march to Arcot, Aurangabad and Burhanpur, and that we should hold authority. According to him, there would be both good and evil fortune, and from next year there would again be prosperity. His predictions have been fulfilled till now and will be fulfilled in future.' The Governor replied that there would never more be such prosperity, as the times had changed, and asked if the Brâhman was still living. I replied that he had died four or five years ago.

He then said, 'There is a country called the Kâpri country[1] to the north of France. There is a prince of Kâpri, and the English used to trade there. But the year before last there fell some disagreement between him and the English and many English were killed. Fearing what might be done, he sent ambassadors to the King of France, seeking his protection, and an agreement was made with him. Knowing that the English were about to march with an army against him, the King of France despatched 10,000 soldiers and ships. It was therefore expected that war would result between the English and French Kings; and so the English are preparing for war here, and we are doing the same. If war is declared between the English and French Kings, there will be war here.' I replied, 'This news has only come lately, since you arrived. When I then said that there would be war here, you objected that there could be none because of your eighteen months' truce; but we are now preparing for war which is expected next year. The Brâhman's words have never been mistaken.'

[1] The reference seems to be to America; but why it should be called the 'Kâpri country' does not clearly appear. I take it to mean what English contemporaries called 'Coffry' or Negro, in allusion to the large number of Negro slaves in many of the American Colonies. But the reference may be to troubles on the West African Coast.

Friday, August 15.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to M. Leyrit the Governor, and, after paying my respects, reported that Muhammad 'Alî Khân, who was at Tiruvannâmalai, had put that place into the hands of Khair-ud-dîn Khân. He asked why he was not on his way to Arcot and why he had halted. I said, 'It is in his country, so he will stay there five or six days and proceed after settling affairs.' The Governor told me to write to our people with him to send news from Arcot as soon as Muhammad 'Alî Khân arrived. I replied that no letter need be written as that Brâhman was paid and kept there solely in order to send news thence. The Governor did not give any reply, but, on account of the feast, went to church with the councillors, etc., heard mass, and went upstairs on his return. The European officials, merchants and others visited him. I did the same. All were talking with the Governor, so I went to my office in the flower-garden.

Monday, August 18.[2]—The council broke up at twelve this morning. When I was in the sorting-godown, M. Flacourt who has returned from Srîrangam whither he went as commissary, came to me, as he could not visit the Governor, and said, 'By means of 32 palankin-bearers posted at stages, I have come

[1] *3rd Âvani, Yuva.* [2] *6th Âvani, Yuva.*

from Srîrangam in two days. I could not agree with Guntûr Bâli Chetti; so I beat him with a cane, drove him away and appointed my people in the country.' He thus described Bâli Chetti's misconduct and the quarrel. He added that it would take two or three sheets to describe Bâli Chetti's falsehoods about me, which were related to the Governor when the Srîrangam lease was given, but that he would relate briefly two or three points. He said, 'Bâli Chetti declares that, in M. Dupleix' time, you gave him[1] 40,000 rupees as a present when your eldest daughter was married, besides the 15 or 20 lakhs of rupees paid when the country was in his possession, in the expectation of gaining five or six lakhs of rupees by the country management. Bâli Chetti told the Governor that my own gumastah knew this but that when he was asked to report it, I did not permit him to. He promised that if he were given the management of the country, he could pay three lakhs of rupees more rent to the Company and every year three lakhs of rupees in cash as a present to the Governor. He said that you must have received two lakhs of rupees on the occasion of this marriage but would not give the Governor even one lakh. At the time of the

[1] *i.e.*, to Dupleix.

former marriage, there were only the Company's merchants and the towns-people, and the Company held no lands; so, if 40,000 rupees were given to M. Dupleix at the time of the first marriage, you should now have given a lakh at least out of the two you have received. But, says he, you spent 40,000 or 50,000 rupees on dancing girls and on other things in proportion, from which any one may judge what kind of a man you are. He disregards you, saying that M. Godeheu gave as much authority to him as to you at the time of his leaving, and that neither you nor the councillors can do anything.' Thus he spoke for about an hour in order to excite my anger. M. Flacourt said all this in the sorting-godown, before Kandâl Guruvappa Chetti, Guntûr Bâli Chetti's Brâhman, who has come from Srîrangam to complain against him and others. I replied, 'God judges all, so one cannot do to another all the evil that is in his heart. Good actions beget good and evil actions beget evil.'

He again related for an hour all that Bâli Chetti had said to M. Leyrit in the hope of doing as much evil as possible. I set no value upon his words and they need not be written in detail. No matter what he or others say; I need do no more than if I saw a bad man throwing pebbles at the sun.

Though all the help I gave him and his elder brother's son has proved fruitless, what have I lost? Thus replying, I took leave of him[1] and came home.

Wednesday, August 20.[2]—M. Trublet[3] arrived this morning by a ship from the Maldives.

Saturday, August 23.[4]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to M. Leyrit the Governor and paid my respects; he returned his compliments. Then I paid my respects to M. Guillard and others who were there; and they did the same.

Then the Governor asked me why I was keeping Gôvinda Râo (Bhâji Râo's vakîl), Srînivâsa Râo (vakîl of 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân, son of 'Abd-ul-hamîd Khân, Nawâb of Cuddapah) and Bâlâji Pandit (Haidar Khân's vakîl). I replied that, though I had reported a week ago that the letters were written and sealed, and that broadcloth must be prepared for their presents, nothing had been done, so I also had done nothing, as I did not know his reason. He then asked how much should be given to them. I replied, 'You know all things. They have come on certain business

[1] *i.e.*, M. Flacourt.
[2] *8th Âvani, Yuva.*
[3] Elsewhere called 'Termellier,' which should probably be read here also.
[4] *11th Âvani, Yuva.*

with presents and cloth from great men. You may give them such presents as you please.'—'Then let us send them away with two yards of broadcloth each and their letters,' the Governor replied. I continued, 'They have come from such distant places as Satâra and Poona, which belong to Bhâji Râo and from 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân of Cuddapah, so it is not proper to treat them so; they should be given at least 8 yards of broadcloth.' He remained silent, which I thought meant his consent. I had therefore an order written, in the Governor's room, on M. Bertrand, the Second in charge of the godown. But, when I brought it to the Governor for his signature, he changed the 10 yards into 6, and signed the order saying that that was enough. Srînivâsa Râo, vakîl of the Nawâb of Cuddapah, thought that, as Gôvinda Râo (Bhâji Râo's vakîl) was also present, the Governor would make rich presents, so as to appear great in his eyes and immediately finish his affairs, which, he thought, were being delayed by me. So he sought to manage his affair through M. Barthélemy, M. Lalu, Madanânda Pandit, Râmu Pillai and others to whom he gave gifts, in order to procure their intercession with the Governor and the presentation of his requests in French, instead of coming to me. All this was planned in concert with

Madanânda Pandit, that sinner against God, but he and the rest who have been going about in great spirits in their ignorance of the Governor's nature, now have learnt it for themselves in this broadcloth affair, and have been abashed, so that they could not look me in the face, but turned their eyes aside.

When the Governor had gone in after talking with the several people, he again called me, so I went accompanied by the vakîls of the Nawâb of Cuddapah and the Nânâ. The Governor said that he had not sent for them to give them leave, and asked what they wanted. I replied that they had accompanied me when I was summoned, lest I should give new excuses even to-day.

The Cuddapah man and the Nânâ's vakîl were then given *pân supârî* and three yards of broadcloth each, together with their letters. The vakîl from Cuddapah was dismissed with the message that nothing could be definitely said about the Chidambaram or any other affair owing to the 18 months' peace between the English and the French, and that orders could only be given after the receipt of news from Europe. The Governor then dismissed Bhâji Râo's vakîl with the following words :—' We hold only part of the Carnatic country for which the *chauth* is but a small

sum. Moreover the whole country has been wasted by war, like the rest of the Carnatic. You should seek payment of your dues from whomsoever secures the Carnatic subah.'

The Governor then said, 'Pâvâdai Nâyakkan of Tanjore has written to me asking for a cowle to permit him to live under the French flag at Kârikâl in the house he means to build there without being delivered into the hands of the Râjâ of Tanjore or losing his property, whatever the Râjâ may demand. Tell me all about him.' So saying, he gave me the Marathi letter with its envelope. I took it and said, 'Pâvâdai Nâyakkan is the treasurer and *ministre* of Manôji Appâ. All trade affairs were managed by him and the money collected was paid in to him. He alone decided all disputes in the country. Râjâ Pratâb Singh's private money affairs and all his treasure were managed by him. But he betrayed the Râjâ and the Kingdom, and stole the Râjâ's private money. When his treachery was discovered, he was seized, beaten, imprisoned and tortured. Afterwards he dwelt at Negapatam, bestowing great and small sums upon the Governor and the dubâshes. As the Râjâ and Manôji Appâ sought to prevent his dwelling there, he now wishes to live under us.' Thus for half an hour, I related all I had heard about him. The Governor listened to me and asked what

should be done. I told him what had taken place and added, ' As he cannot find protection elsewhere, and as we and the Râjâ's people are unfriends, he has written to us. You may do what you think best.' The Governor replied that he would speak about it again after reading the French translation of his letter. So I took leave and came away, saying that I would bring a reply to Manôji Appâ.

SEPTEMBER 1755.

Tuesday, September 9.[1]—As Chinniya Nâyakkan, son of Nâgamallu Nâyakkan, *Dôstakku*[2] of the Negapatam Company, was going to Negapatam this morning, I sent Chokkappa Mudali with 20 matchlock-people and two horsemen, to escort him thither and return. At half-past seven, I went to the Fort and paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, giving him the three letters written by the Governor of Mocha, the shroff there, and another, with the French translations, and the Persian originals.

Having read them, he gave me Turaiyûr Pâpu Reddi's letter sent by M. Maissin, to be translated into French. I took it.

I then said, 'The daughter of the Râjâ of the Maldives has sent presents for you with a letter by her agent who came here last year, but now has an unclean disease and an ulcer in his leg; as he cannot walk upstairs, he requests permission to be carried in a chair, and to enter into the Fort in his palankin.' He gave permission and told me to inform the gate-people. I sent word accordingly, and

[1] *28th Âvani, Yuva.*
[2] The meaning of this term is not apparent. Can it signify the Dastak-writer ?

then told the Governor that he had wanted the [State] palankin and standards, but that I had replied that it was not usual. 'In these matters,' the Governor replied, 'we should follow the example of M. Dupleix and not allow any deviation from it. The special respect shown to the Muhammadans after M. Dupleix' departure by M. Godeheu and by me at my first coming must be in future abandoned.' I asked if I had not told him about it already. 'True,' he said; 'I only did so because M. Godeheu had shown such respect.' He added, 'M. Bussy writes to me saying that Salabat Jang has heard that I ordered salutes to be fired when I went to meet and receive presents from the killedars and the subahdar of Arcot, and that I must therefore receive his presents with yet greater respect, but should not receive presents from my subordinates with such respect hereafter.'—'That is right,' I replied.

M. Le Termellier, the captain of the ship which has returned from the Maldives, accompanied the Râjâ's agent who came here last year and has an ulcer in the leg. The latter was carried in a square chair with the presents from the Maldivian Râjâ's daughter, consisting of an island coconut, two mats and a seer or a seer and a half of ambergris in a sealed bag, and a letter in another bag. He placed the

presents in a tray before the Governor and salaamed. The Governor received the presents and ordered them to be put away; and then, giving me the bag containing the letter, asked who had sent it. I replied that it had been sent by the Râjâ's daughter with compliments and was to the following effect:—'Formerly the English and the Dutch promised, and are still promising, that they will help me if I remain on their side; but, instead of agreeing, I conferred with M. Dupleix, who said that, if I sought the protection of none but him, he would give me all help. He fulfilled his words by sending three ships which drove off our enemies, firing at their vessels and restoring our country to us. Afterwards when our Râjâ was seized, M. Godeheu wrote to Ali Râjâ of Cannanore in Malabar to procure his release.[1] Now we cannot continue unless we receive three or four ships with which to trade. Moreover the rest of our enemies must be destroyed.' —'I will certainly do this,' the Governor said, 'you may rest in peace.' The vakîl then salaamed and was dismissed with *pân supârî* and rosewater. M. Le Termellier was also given leave.

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[1] See Leyrit's letter to Lally, September 13, 1758 (*Mémoire de Leyrit*, p. 170). Ali Râjâ had tried to seize the Maldives in 1753. It appears that the King of the Maldives died in prison, and his son was still a prisoner at Cannanore in 1758.

He then said, 'Give me a list of what the renters owe the sureties in the country management, and I will recover it from them.' 'Certainly Sir,' I replied suitably, 'your undertaking this responsibility is a mark of your affection. I will write it out for you.' Before departing, I reported to him at length Muhammad 'Alî Khân's departure to Madras from Arcot, the respect shown to him there, his dwelling in Luis Madeiros' garden,[1] and the preparations for the display of fireworks and other entertainments. I then took leave and went to my office in the flower-garden.

Thursday, September 11.[2]—I went to the Fort this morning, paid my respects to M. Leyrit the Governor and gave him the letter received yesterday from the poligar of Turaiyûr with its French translation. He read it.

Later on M. du Bausset gave M. Leyrit the letter to the Council from the daughter of the Râjâ of the Maldives, and M. Leyrit gave it to me to be translated into French.

He then gave me two cadjan letters from Kunjiya Nâyar and the Râjâ of Kôttattu[3] desiring me to interpret them. Kunjiya Nâyar's letter is as follows :—'M. Louët, the Directeur of Mahé, listens to Chirakkal Râjâ and has

[1] The Governor's garden-house, on the site of which Government House now stands.

[2] *30th Âvani, Yuva.*

[3] Presumably the Kadattanâd Râjâ.

not written to me a letter of respect or given me batta for the last five years; thus he hinders my business. But as is well-known, I have been assisting the Company, defeating the English and the Râjâ of Malabar who helped them. The Râjâ of Kôttattu has advised me to write a letter to you, saying that he also would write, from whom you will learn all things. Such conduct is improper in return for the help I have rendered to the French Company. I have lost little by not receiving batta for these months or by his discourteous way of writing ; nor has M. Louët gained any power. Be pleased to write to him to behave with respect and pay me the monthly batta.' When I had reported the contents thus, M. Leyrit said, 'There are two complaints ; one is about M. Louët's refusing to give 100 bags of rice monthly, and the other is that he is not called Râjâ. I have written to M. Louët about these and will reply on hearing from him. Bring French translations of this and the Râjâ of Kôttattu's letter.'

Saturday, September 13.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to the Fort. The coarse bluecloth of the Company's merchants was sorted and 45 bales were packed. M. Miran spoke contemptuously of the Company's merchants, as the quality was very

[1] *1st Purattâsi, Yuva.*

inferior. M. Desfresnes also said that the cloth was poor. No doubt it is not good, for the Governor did not heed the words of the Company's chief dubâsh and so the Company's merchants manage everything themselves, by flattering the councillors with false hopes; therefore the quality of the cloth is not good, the price has risen, and no cloth is ready when required. Thus the Company's affairs are no more prosperous than affairs in the town where there is no justice. Each man wants to be master just as in the days of Dôst 'Alî Khân when each man called himself Nawâb. So now the cooly and the scavenger call themselves masters of the town, and, with the aid of any European, rule therein. So justice is unknown and injustice reigns everywhere; but for the former good done in Pondichery, matters might still be worse; but it is not known what will come to pass.

Tuesday, September 16.[1]—I visited the Governor this morning when he was strolling up and down with M. Cornet. The Governor said, 'I hear Malayappan is managing a lime-kiln there. Write to the amaldâr to supply him with fuel and whatever he may require.' I said I would do so.

[1] *4th Purattâsi, Yuva.*

M. Blanc, the captain of the *Devanâmpattanam* who has come from Paris said to me, 'The English and French were on the point of war on account of the Coffrees in America; but they had agreed that they must come to terms in two years and that they would fight only if they did not settle otherwise. I have delivered to the Governor the Company's letters for M. Godeheu and the council.' He then talked about other matters and took leave.

Afterwards M. Law sent for me to settle M. Bussy's accounts and I went.

Tuesday, September 30.[1]—This morning Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan, the Mysore vakîl who has come with Kônêri Râo, the vakîl left at Srîrangam by Nandi Râjâ, and his writer, brought me Nandi Râjâ's letter to M. Leyrit the Governor, saying that he must visit the Governor and talk to him, and desired me to accompany him. When I went upstairs and paid my respects to the Governor, he dismissed those there who had come to visit him, and went into his room, calling me to go with him. He took a letter and asked (not knowing his name) about the Mîr at Chêtpattu. I said, 'Formerly Chêtpattu belonged to Mîr Asad. Subsequently Chandâ Sâhib captured it and

[1] *18th Purattâsi, Yuva.*

gave it to Shaikh Hasan. When Shaikh Hasan was seized by the English in the battle of Srîrangam, it was delivered into the possession of Pâpayya Pillai, and the fort placed in the charge of Nizar Muhammad Khân. This man did not agree with Pâpayya Pillai, and so he joined Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English.' The Governor wrote the particulars of his name, etc., on the letter; and then told me to send for Mysore Venkatanârayanappa Ayyan and others. He asked them on what business they had come. They gave him Nandi Râjâ's letters in a laced-bag and also the letter addressed to Râmi Reddi of Sêndamangalam, and said [ ].

OCTOBER 1755.

Friday, October 3.[1]—As the Company's merchants' goods were to be sorted this morning, I went to the Fort, and stayed at the sorting-godown, till the Governor sent for me. I then went and gave him the original and the French translation of the letter from Dilâwar Khân of the Sîrpi subah. The Governor read them and said, 'A letter was written saying that the Bishop, Father Noronha of Mylapore, was being sent to Salabat Jang's camp with the troops. Has he gone?' I replied that the troops had been despatched and that it had been written that the Padré would proceed to Salabat Jang's camp by way of Goa. 'Very well,' he said [ ].

Tuesday, October 7.[2]—At half-past seven this morning, I paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, at the Fort, when he was busily talking with M. du Bausset and others. When they had all taken leave, he asked the news. I said I had received news from Mysore and had heard other news which I would tell him. He desired me to report it, so I spoke as follows:—'Nandi Râjâ meant to visit the Râjâ at Mysore; but when he learnt that the

[1] *21st Purattâsi* [*Yuva*]. [2] *25th Purattâsi, Yuva*

Râjâ was against him, he did not enter the place but remained at the pettai called Nanjundapuram, which is about a mile this side and which contains an Îswaran temple where he collected all sorts of rascals—Europeans, *mestices*, Topasses, etc.—300 in all, and some infantry. Formerly, as he was commander of the troops, the old Râjâ was killed, and Dêvarâja Udaiyâr and Nandi Râjâ installed the present Râjâ on the throne, assuming control of everything and even giving Nandi Râjâ's daughter in marriage to the Râjâ.[1] When matters stood thus, Nandi Râjâ neither obeyed nor listened to anybody, but spent three crores of state treasure in attempts to capture Trichinopoly, whereby he earned nothing but dishonour for the kingdom. As all the countries dependent upon Mysore had been ruined, the Râjâ, his mother and the Pradhâni Pandit resolved to seize and imprison Nandi Râjâ and reappoint the Pradhâni Pandit Venkatapati Ayyan who was formerly Sarvâdhikâri. But Nandi Râja and his elder brother Dêvarâja Udaiyâr, learning this, were on their guard, and have seized Venkatapati Ayyan the former Pradhâni and others of his party, and resolved to keep the Râjâ in the palace, under close custody. This is what I

[1] See Wilks, Vol. I, p. 145 (ed. 1869).

hear, but I do not know what has happened.'—'You must find out what happens, and tell me,' the Governor replied. I said I would do so.

I then reported that the Muhammadans were saying that Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân's[1] army had captured the fortresses of Burhanpur and Asir[2], on hearing which Salabat Jang had left Hyderabad for Aurangabad but that I could not say whether this was true or not. The Governor said that it was false.

The Governor showed me a letter from Hyderabad addressed to Razâ Sâhib and asked me to interpret its contents. I read the address and said that the letter had been written to Chandâ Sâhib's son through M. Bussy by Haidar Jang (Coja Qalandar Khân's son) who is with Salabat Jang. The Governor told me to send it to Razâ Sâhib by a chobdar. I did accordingly.

He then gave me Haidar Khân's letter to be interpreted. It says, 'I have at Porto Novo a warehouse, the rent of which is given in charities. M. Aumont[?] is destroying it. Kindly order him not to do so; and also allow me the use of my house and garden at Chidambaram.' Giving it to me to be translated into French,[ ].

[1] Son of Ghâzi-ud-dîn who was poisoned at Aurangabad.

[2] Presumably Asirgarh.

Thursday, October 9.[1]—I paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, this morning when he was talking with M. Saubinet, M. Desfresnes and others. He asked me if I had heard anything about Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Madras. I said I had received a letter to the following effect :—' Muhammad 'Alî Khân's amaldârs have been ordered by the English tahsildars not to take a single cash or exercise authority without orders from the English. The English people have gone to Arcot, etc., places. Muhammad 'Alî Khân is to be given an allowance and desired to remain at Madras. Consequently Muhammad 'Alî Khân is much dejected. The army of 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân ('Abd-ul-nabî Khân's grandson) has taken possession of certain places in the Nellore country. I have received this news, but it is not known what will happen.'

Friday, October 24.[2]—At half-past seven this morning when I went to the Fort, the Governor had gone to the Capuchins' Church, so I waited at the sorting-godown. A Company's peon came to me and said, ' The Governor told me to fetch Ayyan Sâstri, amaldâr of Wandiwash, who is in your house in Râmanâtha Mudali's street. When I went and demanded him, it was said that he was

[1] *27th Purattâsi, Yuva.* [2] *11th Arppisi, Yuva.*

detained by the dalâyets on account of the revenue, and that therefore he could not be released without your permission. So I have come to you.' Thereon I told Râmâji Pandit to send Ayyan Sâstri with the Company's peon. The peon went accordingly and brought Ayyan Sâstri to the Fort. The Governor had then returned from the church after hearing mass, and had gone upstairs. Just as I was leaving the sorting-godown to go to the Governor, I met M. Véry on the way. He said, 'As I am surety for Ayyan Sâstri, why should you put him in prison? See, you have behaved very unjustly and stolen many things. I will reveal everything to the Governor.' When he thus spoke insolently, I said, 'You are a thief and have behaved with injustice in many matters which I will publish before the Governor.' Then I went to the Governor. M. Véry also came. I paid my respects to the Governor as he was sauntering with M. Barthélemy and others. He complimented me. As a council of war was about to be held to punish European deserters, I went back to the sorting-godown.

M. Chevreau then came and asked what we were talking of. I said that when I arrested Ayyan Sâstri on account of his dues, M. Véry had said all sorts of things to me on that account, and that I had told him that

everything should be settled before the Governor. M. Chevreau then went into his room, where he talked with M. Véry, M. Goupil and Ayyan Sâstri, after which they called me. I went and they said, 'How can you behave so ill?' I replied, 'I have arrested him only on account of his dues. Is he not to pay them? The Company is pressing me for money. How can I pay when you behave unjustly and obstinately delay payment?' They replied, 'We Europeans are standing surety; and if we jointly complain to the Governor, what can you do? You had better not incur our displeasure.' When they thus allured and threatened me, I replied, 'I am not afraid of your threats. You can injure me only when you act with justice; I am not to be scared by injustice. Formerly when injustice was done, my ancestors complained to the authorities in Europe; and you may learn what they were, by the just decision then given. I have lived for the last 30 years among French people, and know their nature.' When I said thus, they sought to pacify me and M. Véry said with compliments that I should forget what he had said, and that if I were so dissatisfied, the Sâstri could neither prosper, nor even exist. When he was thus pacifying me, a peon came and said that the Governor wanted me. As I was going upstairs, M. Chevreau came and

asked me to remove the dalâyets. I agreed, and went to the Governor, who said that the Company's merchants had not given what they had promised. I said that all was ready, but that they had been hindered by the despatch of ships and that they would pay to-morrow. The Governor continued, 'The sun has been very strong these four days, so cloth can be got ready[1] quickly; see that they work day and night to get it ready.' I replied, 'I have been urging them on, and they are busy day and night, for they fear the consequences of more delay; they are therefore very active. You had better also speak sharply to them, and I will do the same. There has been so much delay this year because the advances were made only for the fine cloth and not for this. In future there will be no delay, and the supply will be brought in early. They say the councillors are all very angry with them and that they fear complaints will be made to you, so they are anxious to supply cloth quickly.' The Governor replied, 'I hear that the delay in the supply of Salem cloth is your fault for having beaten and troubled the merchants.'—'I have not done so,' I replied, 'the Salem merchants owed me large sums and delayed payments. So I wrote to Nandi Râjâ asking

[1] *i.e.*, washed and dried before being packed.

him to be pleased to speak sharply to them and make them pay. Nandi Râjâ wrote to the amaldâr at Salem who summoned the merchants, spoke sharply to them, and got my money.'—'Were not the merchants here troubled?' he asked angrily. I replied, 'Am I a judge here? They tell many false stories to you, but I have not complained, as your enquiries will reveal the truth. It was Nandi Râjâ's people who troubled the Salem merchants. I have never set eyes on them. Moreover so much cloth is not collected there as before. No more than 20 bales have been brought in so far. They have been delaying for the following reasons:—There are [disturbances] in Mysore. Nandi Râjâ desired to seize the present Râjâ of Mysore, put him in prison, and kill him, so that his son who was born last year may be placed on the throne. Then Nandi Râjâ learnt that attempts were being made to seize and imprison him and appoint the chief pandit, Venkatapati Ayyan, Pradhâni. As the army was under his control, he expected to prevent this. As the Râjâ's wife is the daughter of Nandi Râjâ, the latter sent word to her that her husband should be put to death and her son placed on the throne. She replied that such a thing could never be done, for God would not suffer it, so that, if he formed such plans, he would be striving

against God, and suffer the consequences. At the same time she told her husband about her father's intentions, and warned him to be on his guard. The Râjâ thereupon collected 4,000 faithful men, arming both them and himself. Nandi Râjâ also made ready, collecting 200 European deserters, and marched to battle. But when Dêvarâja Udaiyâr (Nandi Râjâ's elder brother and the chief dalavâi) who had been ailing, learnt this, thinking that the country was on the verge of destruction and all things would be ruined, if, in tenderness for his health, he did nothing till it was too late, he went to his younger brother, his son-in-law and the Râjâ, pacifying them, and putting a stop to the war. But Nandi Râjâ then seized Venkatapati Ayyan the Pradhâni, and his people who followed him, imprisoning them, plundering their houses and seizing about 6 lakhs of pagodas. None can tell whether the troubles have ceased or not; and the Salem merchants have delayed because of the ungoverned state of the country. You had better write to them and I also will do so; and cloth will be sent as soon as the letters are received. Not 100 or even 50 bales, but only 30 bullock-loads or 20 bales of cloth, have been collected; and even these have been delayed. The Governor again asked if the people had not been seized and beaten here, not in Salem

or in Mysore. I replied, 'They were living in Salem, making money there, and I have not spoken with them for 15 years.' Thereon the Governor told me to write a letter in his name.

I then said, 'On Muhammad 'Alî Khân's arrival at Madras, after the visits had been paid, the accounts were examined, showing great sums due, which he was required to pay before his departure. It was decided that when he brought his family, he should reside in Muhammad Mâl's[1] house in Mylapore. His amaldârs are to collect the revenue and pay it to the English tahsildars, and his younger brother is to collect the peshkash with the help of soldiers, a few troopers, and sepoys, to be paid in adjustment of his debts. When Muhammad 'Ālî Khân was thus troubled, thinking that he had been entrapped, the English resolved, I know not why, to use their own troops instead of his ; so they were ordered to collect the peshkash from the poligars, and he was presented with 2,000 pagodas last Saturday, and given leave. He still remains at Saidapet.' The Governor asked how much country he held. I replied, 'I have heard that 24 lakhs is the estimated revenue of the country. Out of this, the English have received a jaghir of 3 lakhs, besides Tirupati,

[1] *Quere*, Muḥammad Kamâl.

Chingleput, Tiruppâchûr, and other countries yielding nine lakhs. The rest remained in Muhammad 'Alî Khân's possession; but the English have now taken the management of 8 lakhs more of the country, while the remaining 4 lakhs are to be reserved for the expenses of his household. Moreover, Trichinopoly, exclusive of the country between the two rivers now in our possession, Madura, Tinnevelly and other countries newly acquired are to remain with them. He is to bear the cost of the establishment at Trichinopoly and the poligars' peshkash is to be given to the English; and proper persons will be sent to recall Mahfuz Khân. It has also been decided that, when the truce is over, the country in the possession of the French shall also fall to them.' The Governor only smiled, and said, 'I also have heard this news. But affairs will not happen as they wish. Be sure the news from Europe will be quite to the contrary.'

He then asked if there was any news from Arcot. I replied, 'Formerly the kotwal's business was in the hands of 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân but now it is in the hands of the English. The killedar of Vellore is on the alert, as they are coming to demand peshkash. Moreover there was with Murtazâ 'Alî Khân, a Muhammadan physician named 'Alî Akbar who managed his affairs and secretly helped him

to murder Safdar 'Alî Khân. He was given a jaghir of 24,000 rupees and favoured. But as he had stolen swords and daggers from a Saiyid's house there, he was stabbed by the latter, his jaghir was resumed, and his son given nothing but kind words. Preparations are being made everywhere for war.'

I then gave him letters from Salabat Jang addressed to him, to the Governor of Madras, to Muhammad 'Alî Khân and to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore, directing the last to pay no peshkash to Muhammad 'Alî Khân. The Governor gave his letter to Madanânda Pandit and told him to interpret it. It says, 'I hear that Muhammad 'Alî Khân is wrongfully seeking to collect the poligars' peshkash which rightfully belongs to me. I have written to him and to the English forbidding this to be done. You also should write to them about it. Moreover on my Mysore expedition, I desired to settle this business at Arcot, but I did not go thither out of my regard for you, and on account of your agreement and the orders of the King of France that there should be no war for 18 months between the English and the French. Therefore I returned to Hyderabad. When the rains are over, I shall march thither, when the limited time will be expired. Then I will settle

Arcot and the Carnatic in a suitable manner."[1] He told me to get the letter translated into French, adding that he would give orders to the several people accordingly. As it had struck noon, I took leave and came home.

When I went to the *Gouvernement* this morning, I heard that a palankin-boy had brought the headpeon this morning a letter which the latter then gave to the Governor. But when he had read it, he was angry and ordered the palankin-boy to be seized; when he had been seized and questioned, he said he served a captain of soldiers, whose dubâsh had given it to him. When the dubâsh was called and questioned, he replied that he had found it in the street opposite to M. Law's house; that he had shown it to his master who said that it was addressed to the Governor, and that

[1] At the end of this day's diary is entered the French translation, as follows :—

"Traduction d'une lettre de Salabetjingue reçu le 24 Octobre, 1755, à Mr le Gouverneur.

J'ai appris que Mahomed Ally Khan veut exiger un tribut des Gemidars. Ce tribut c'est à moy à le recevoir. Je suis venu l'année passée au Maysour, d'ou il n'y a pas (loin?) jusque a Arcate. Je n'y ai point passé, parceque j'ai sçu qu'il avoit entre les Français et les Anglais une suspension d'armes pour dix-huit mois en attendant les ordres du Roi de France. C'est ce qui m'a engagé à retourner tout droit à Ayderabad présentement. J'écris une lettre à Mahomed Ally Khan portant de [ne] faire pareille chose. Vous aussi de notre part vous devex lui écrire comme sujet, de la manière qui convient. Les pluies vont bientôt achevez et la suspension d'armes ne tardera pas à finir. Alors je me rendrays dans le pays et termineray toutes choses. Qui a lit [*sic*] autre chose à vous ecrire."

therefore he sent it by a palankin-boy to the headpeon. The Governor said, 'It is a lie that you found it in the street. What is the truth? Who gave you the letter?' On his repeating his former words, the two were imprisoned separately in the choultry godown. Though his master a captain (whose name I do not know) saw the Governor about it, the Governor's anger did not abate, and he said that the prisoner could not be released. I enquired carefully about the contents of the letter and the reason of his anger. Some say that the letter may not have been signed, but that it may have abused the Governor for not knowing how to govern, so that he wishes to find out who wrote it, as a similar letter was written 15 days ago, which was found in his writing-room, so that he could make no enquiries; but now as the palankin-boy and dubâsh have been found, they are being questioned in order that the writer may be seized and punished. Were not formerly a few complaints made against M. Godeheu, and others in M. Dupleix' time against Madame Dupleix' injustice? I hear the Governor is very put out at this.

Thursday, October 30.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning, the sky was cloudy and it was drizzling. However I went to the Fort and

[1] *17th Arppisi, Yuva.*

paid my respects to M. Leyrit the Governor, who said, 'M. Tobin[1] writes that Muttu Venkatarâma Reddi is helping the English, that his man who came half way from Pondichery ran away, and that the 50 sepoys you sent are useless.' I replied, 'If Muttu Venkatarâma Reddi were really helping the English, would he have helped us for ten months against the English? Would he have quarrelled with the English when his people were seized by them, beaten, wounded and kept in prison till now? But in fact the same man who formerly wrote such praises of him now condemns him. Is this not evident? Would he have written so if the Reddi had not been our friend? He has often praised and blamed him before.'—'That is true,' he replied. As for the 50 sepoys sent by me being only coolies, I said that they had formerly served the Company but had been reduced. He said he would send 100 more sepoys to Madurantakam and asked me to write giving orders about it. I said I would do so and came home.

Friday, October 31.[2]—When I paid my respects to M. Leyrit the Governor this morning, he told me to write a letter to the Turaiyûr Reddi as follows :—'You have written asking me to send you help against your enemy who

[1] One of the French Commissaries in the disputed districts.
[2] *18th Arppisi, Yuva.*

is collecting forces at Udaiyârpâlaiyam. You need not be alarmed. You should pay the Company the amount you have promised and I will give you all necessary help against your enemy and see that he does not molest you. I am sending an officer, 50 soldiers, and 100 sepoys to remain with you. You need not pay them anything but treat them with respect.' I said I would write accordingly. He then gave me Nandi Râjâ's order to the Sêndamangalam man and a Tamil cadjan letter to be translated into French. I agreed, and, having taken leave, went to my office at the flower-garden.

NOVEMBER 1755.

Saturday, November 1.[1]—As to-day and to-morrow are dedicated to the commemoration of All Souls, M. Leyrit, the Governor, went to the Capuchins' church this morning, heard mass, and returned. I presented him with a bouquet of jasmine, and said, 'Last night I received a letter from three troopers at Asuppûr who say they are coming from Salabat Jang's camp with presents for you, consisting of a dress of honour, jewels set with rubies, a *sarpêch*, and a *kalgi*, and a sanad granting you a title. Their leader who is called 'Abd-ul-rahmân, wants to know where they should halt on their arrival here. Where shall we lodge them?' He replied that they might be lodged as usual and that I might write accordingly. I said that I would suggest Nainiya Pillai's Choultry or some other choultry outside the bound-hedge. 'Very well,' he said. I had a reply written at once to the letter by Madanânda Pandit.

I then said that it was usual to pitch a tent west of the Madras gate, and asked if it might be done now. He inquired if I had asked the master-gunner whether the tent was ready

[1] *19th Arppisi, Yuva.*

I said I had. Thereon he told me to send for M. Carpentier, the master-gunner. He then consulted M. Delarche.

. The Governor sent for me later and told me before going to meet them to fetch the letters for Salabat Jang[1] and M. Bussy, so that the first might be put into the bag and sent when Salabat Jang's letter[2] had been read.

Wednesday, November 12.[3]—At eight o'clock to-night, Periyanna Nayinâr's and Vîrâ Nâyakkan's sons came to me, saying, 'In M. le Marquis Dupleix' time, the wife of Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân of Eravâsanallûr was imprisoned on Pâpayya Pillai's advice, and a Company's peon and one of our peons were placed over her. By giving money to Râman, M. Barthélemy's dubash, she has managed to settle the affair; and M. Barthélemy sent for us at six o'clock and told us to release her. We said we would do so, and also spoke to the Governor, who agreed. We have come to inform you.' I told them that they should do as the Governor had ordered, and dismissed them. I then came home. Mîr 'Abd-ul-rahmân's wife has been bargaining for the last month and a half by means of Kulasêkharam Venkatanâranappayyan, offering to pay 5,000

[1] Apparently in answer to the last letter from Salabat Jang.
[2] *i.e.*, the letter on the point of arrival.
[3] *30th Arppisi, Yuva.*

rupees for her release, although our man 'Abd-ul-rahmân still opposes us at Eravâsanallûr. If I had spoken to the Governor and secured her release, and 'Abd-ul-rahmân had caused disturbances, who knows what might have happened? M. Dupleix and M. Godeheu have already received complaints in Europe about those who were imprisoned.[1] So I could not interfere in this affair, but told them to procure her release by other means. She has therefore spent 5,000 rupees, or perhaps twice as much. Only God knows what will befall.

Thursday, November 13.[2]—This morning I went to the house of M. Barthélemy the Second to pay my respects. He complimented me and said, 'M. Leyrit the Governor showed me your petition of yesterday about the delay in payments caused by the European sureties for the country revenues. He said that the sureties must be summoned to-morrow when orders should be passed. He will mention the affair as soon as you go to him. So you had better go.' I agreed.

[1] I believe the reference is to the persons whom Ranga Pillai had imprisoned for not paying the revenues. Complaints about Ranga Pillai's management had certainly been sent home to Dupleix—one complaining of his driving out in a coach and six with a white coachman on the box. See Dupleix, *Réponse à la lettre du sieur Godeheu*, pp. 150, 154 and 226.

[2] *1st Kârttigai, Yuva.*

I then said, 'There is a village called Srîvalâputtûr near the banks of the two rivers in Srîrangam given as inam to Dakshinâmûrti Sâstri who is with Nânâ Bhâji Râo. M. Flacourt has been constantly troubling him. Kindly give me an order forbidding him from doing so.' He gave it me and I took it to the *Gouvernement.*

The Governor, who had sent for M. Solminiac, the surety for Gingee, had been asking severely why the money for the Gingee country had not been paid. I do not know whether M. Solminiac had objected to paying in any of his perquisites; or how the Governor had scolded him. But he was looking very downcast as he came out.

The Governor then sent for M. du Bausset and asked him severely in my presence why he had not paid me the lease amount for the Cheyyûr country. He replied that only four or five thousand rupees was due. I replied, 'I gave you for 12,000 rupees country yielding 15,000 rupees, and not a cash has been yet paid.' M. du Bausset asked the Governor why he, a Councillor, could not have what would otherwise have gone to a black man, and said that M. Godeheu had settled the matter. The Governor replied sharply, 'How can you call him a black man? He has authority to give or take away. He can do whatever he thinks

best. So give up the country at once.' I said, 'It is true that, when M. Godeheu was here, he put the country in charge of writer Ranga Pillai. But when the whole country was given to me, I gave him for 12,000 rupees country for which any one else would have paid me 15,000 rupees. That is the whole story.' The Governor said severely that he must pay. M. du Bausset agreed, but added submissively, 'I have a large family. I have two sons in Europe and others here. My expenses are great; so please accept 10,000 rupees.' The Governor smiled and told him that he must settle the matter with me, but asked if I would take the sum. As M. du Bausset who had spoken so proudly had dropped his haughty tone, and as I was asked to do this by one so great, I accepted. M. du Bausset then took leave and departed.

The Governor then summoned M. Bury, surety for Tiruviti in the Panchmahal, and asked him why he had not paid last year's balance of 1,09,000 rupees together with that year's kists and customary allowances. He replied that the amount due was less. He was then shown his son-in-law, M. La Tour's kist account drawn up after the accounts had been closed; but he replied that the customary allowances usually went to the Company. The Governor said, 'You need not trouble about

that. Ranga Pillai will see to that. No one else has any authority.' He then said that he would write to M. La Tour and settle the business, and went away submissively.

The Governor then called his Secretary M. Mauricet, and asked him why he and M. Le Blanc had not paid the large dues on account of Tirukkôyilûr, Kalkurichi, Tiruppâlaippandal, Tiruvannâmalai, etc., countries. M. Mauricet replied that as they had spent certain sums on the country, they had thought that it would be sufficient if those sums were recovered, and that I had been delaying them, but that M. Le Blanc was expected here on November 15 or 16. 'Will he bring the money?' the Governor asked. 'Certainly,' he replied. The Governor said that it must be paid, and sent him away.

He then called M. Couchard who is surety for Chidambaram in the Panchmahal, and asked him why he had not paid. He said he would pay what was due. The Governor exclaimed angrily, 'What do you want with the country and lands? Give them up.' He answered that he had stood surety for a three years' lease and invested large sums but that he would pay the whole quickly. Then he departed.

When all had gone but me, the Governor said, 'You trusted these writers and officials and gave them country. Could they pay ten

fanams if you tortured them all day long? You must find enough out of the collections for the September pay.' I said I would pay in the collections. It was then half-past twelve. The Governor said that Appu Mudali could be sent for to-morrow and the Villupuram affair settled. I took leave and came home.

Kumâra Venkatâchala Reddi who formerly ruled Turaiyûr was son of Muttu Basavâ Reddi and younger brother of Pâpu Reddi; and Kunnayyan, his elder brother, was dalavâi. These quarrelled with Pâpu Reddi who killed Kunnayyan and set up his own son as poligar. So Venkatâchala Reddi, the younger brother, went to Udaiyârpâlaiyam to collect forces in order to attack and recover Turaiyûr; as the Governor of Pondichery had received the peshkash from Pâpu Reddi and was helping him, Venkatâchala Reddi sent Kônêri Râo (formerly vakîl of Varadâ Reddi) with presents to negotiate with the Pondichery people and with the letters to the Governor and me desiring us not to help Pâpu Reddi but to capture Turaiyûr and give it to him, promising in return to give the peshkash and a nazar. I told Kônêri Râo that the time was not suitable and that he must wait. He did not agree to this, but I hear that he visited [the Governor] this evening with a nazar of 400 rupees, by means of M. du Bausset, delivering the letters and

reporting the news. The Governor said that although it was all true and Venkatâchala Reddi was the rightful master, he must wait for a while, and dismissed him, ordering an allowance of rice to be given.

Sunday, November 16.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning, I went to the Fort. When the Governor had returned from church after hearing mass, I presented him with a bouquet. M. Guillard, M. Boyelleau, M. Le Noir and some officers paid their respects. M. Leyrit was then talking with M. Saubinet. When M. Guillard and M. Miran were going downstairs, they beckoned me, and in my presence, told Guntûr Vènkatâchala Chetti, that, when the Governor went yesterday evening to Villiyanallûr, my amaldârs had not given him a nazar, and that they must be ordered not to omit this again. They also said that the Governor had ordered the catamaran-people to be sent to the river.

M. Véry, M. Goupil, M. Chevreau, M. Solminiac, M. Brenier—five persons in all—who had assembled in M. Chevreau's room downstairs, went up pointing at me with malicious joy, saying that it was most unjust to remove them[2] on the ground that security was not required, when they had paid in the due

[1] *4th Kârttigai, Yuva.*
[2] From their positions as sureties to the under-renters.

amounts, and that it was due to the renters' deceit. Thus they went up to relate all this and other matters to the Governor, but I took no notice of it.

After talking with M. Guillard and taking leave of him, I went to M. Bertrand's office as M. Miran wanted me. When I and M. Miran had exchanged compliments, the latter said that I was very lucky. 'How?' I asked. He replied, 'I was sitting at supper with the Governor the night before last, when two Councillors, another gentleman and M. Chevreau criticised your management of the country. But M. Leyrit replied, "When M. Godeheu departed, he made me Governor, giving me liberty to do as I pleased; but he advised me to give Ranga Pillai the Carnatic subah to manage as he thought best. Ranga Pillai can act as freely as I can, with regard to the country. I cannot interfere with him or prevent him from doing what he pleases. But I shall be careful to collect the money from him, and no one can interfere with him about the country. Don't talk vainly. You must regard him and his affairs as you regard me and mine. That is the only course." We were all surprised that the Governor should have blackened the faces of these men. That is why I call you fortunate.' He added, [ ].

Wednesday, November 19.[1]—I heard that as Muhammad 'Alî Khân (who was halting near Tiruvallûr) had published by beat of tom-tom his intention of marching against Venkatagiri Yâchama Nâyakkan's son, the latter had come to terms and agreed to pay 1,40,000 rupees, sending a bond for a lakh, which Muhammad 'Alî Khân had received, but that he was continuing to trouble them on the pretext that large sums were still due from Yâchama Nâyakkan's younger brother. None of the poligars have paid their peshkash, but their vakîls are discussing it, while the poligars are preparing to try their strength against Muhammad 'Alî Khân, should he attack them. [ ].

Thursday, November 20.[2]—The Governor said this morning that he had received a letter from Srîrangam with news that Nandi Râjâ had been killed in Mysore, and asked if it was true. I replied, 'I have already mentioned Nandi Râjâ's intention of killing the Râjâ of Mysore and placing his son on the throne, and the attempts made to seize Nandi Râjâ and keep him in custody. The Râjâ in his anger may have been strong enough to kill Nandi Râjâ or cast him into a hill fort, but no definite news has come though there are several stories about the matter.'

[1] *7th Kârttigai Yuva.*

[2] *8th Kârttigai, Yuva.*

Sunday, November 30.[1]—To-day's news is as follows :—Morâri Râo marched with his army against Coja Nâmat-ul-lah Khân who fled alone on horseback from Adoni to Râjâpâlaiyam or thereabouts. His army has been overthrown, and his tents, elephants, horses, goods, treasure, etc., have fallen into Morâri Râo's hands. Moreover the latter has seized Adoni, Rayachoti, Gooty[2] and other forts with the countries belonging to them. When this news reached the people of Arni, respectable persons there wrote to me. Astrologers have foretold that the Muhammadan countries will be seized by the Hindus ; signs of this are now visible and I think their predictions will be fulfilled.

[1] *18th Kârttigai, Yuva.* [2] *Sic.*

DECEMBER 1755.

Monday, December 1.[1]—Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan, the Mysore vakîl, came to me and reported as follows the occurrences at Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore:— 'Formerly the Râjâ of Mysore and Nandi Râjâ disagreed, so the latter wanted to kill the Râjâ and place his son on the throne. But the Râjâ is the son-in-law of Nandi Râjâ; and when the latter told his daughter secretly about it, she reported it to her husband, the Râjâ, who with a small army prepared for war. On learning this, Dêvarâja Udaiyâr, the chief dalavâi, regardless of his ill-health, warned his son-in-law of his danger and reconciled them. Venkatapati Ayyan, the old Pradhâni, was at that time confined in his own house and kept in safe custody; but on the 12th day in the dark half of *Âswija*,[2] guards were set on the Râjâ in his palace; and the dalavâi summoned the old Pradhâni Venkatapati Ayyan, his son and others, to his house and told them that though they and the Râjâ were as uncles and son-in-law, they and the Râjâ had resolved to kill each other, but that he need not trouble himself about what

[1] *19th Kârttigai, Yuva.*

[2] *i.e.*, November 1.

would come to pass, or take any part in it; he reminded him that he had served as Pradhâni under his younger brother, to whom [the former Râjâ] at the time of his death had entrusted his welfare, so that he became one of his household, when he had not even conjee to drink, and under such protection had become Pradhâni of Mysore and the master of lakhs. Besides this some time after the former Râjâ's death, when he had been desired to retain the office of Pradhâni, he had refused, but had still been suffered to enjoy his grants of land and other property, so that he should not have proved a sinner against God. Venkatapati Ayyan replied that that was all true, but that his master had sent for him and told him half a dozen times that as Nandi Râjâ wanted to put an end to him, he must be seized and kept in prison, that he was bound to do as he was desired, inasmuch as he had eaten the Râjâ's food, and that that was why he had acted thus. On hearing this, Dêvarâjâ Udaiyâr replied, "You served not the Râjâ but my younger brother Nandi Râjâ who was Sarvâdhikâri. At the time of the [former Râjâ's] death, he entrusted you to me and I protected you. So you as my man should have told me what your master said when he consulted you instead of acting as you did." Thus Venkatapati Avyan, the former Pradhâni,

and his wife were chained and imprisoned in Manvallidrug, and his son and his son-in-law in another *drug* the name of which is unknown. His brother-in-law and his wife were imprisoned in Kâpâldrug. Thus all his people were imprisoned, and their houses and property, gardens, inam villages, etc., were given to Nandi Râjâ. Three or four days later, people were allowed to go in and out of the palace ; but his master the Râjâ feared what might happen to him ; and certain jemadars, officials, merchants and others concerned in this affair also feared, and the whole town was alarmed. Day and night men burnt with terror at the thought of being falsely accused, not knowing what might happen. All this happened a month ago, but I do not know what has happened since. If the time had been fortunate such things would not have happened in the Râjâ's palace in the town. It is a sign of ill-fortune ; there are no limits to what is said by the people of Seringapatam and the Mysore country. It is sixteen days since any news or travellers came thence. Thus disturbances reign even in the palace, one seeking to slay another. What the astrologer Sîtârâma formerly said has come to pass and we shall see what will happen.' Venkatanâranappa Ayyan then said that he would go to Villiyanallûr early to-morrow,

and after talking about other affairs, took leave saying that he wanted two pieces of broadcloth.

Wednesday, December 3.[1]—This morning Kastûri Rangayyan (Turaiyûr Pâpu Reddi's vakîl) paid his respects to the Governor when he was walking up and down. The Governor told me to ask him what he had come for. He said that he had been sent with a letter congratulating the Governor on his receiving the title of Azam-ud-daulah, with the *kalgi*, *sarpêch*, dress of honour and other presents from Salabat Jang. The Governor refused to receive the letter as the Turaîyûr Reddi had treated M. Tilly, the officer, and 50 soldiers disrespectfully, refusing to receive either them or his letter. I mentioned this matter to Kastûri Rangayyan, to learn his opinion, so that I might report it to the Governor. But he replied, 'What can be done? He[2] has not more than one head that he should disobey the Governor, so let my message be heard.' The Governor however still refused to hear him, and went in after talking to M. Saubinet for about an hour. I went to my office in the flower-garden.

Saturday, December 6.[3]—This morning M. Guillard said, 'I want to visit Kadapâkkam

[1] *21st Kârttigai, Yuva.* [2] *i.e.*, the Turaiyûr poligar.
[3] *24th Kârttigai, Yuva.*

and Madurantakam for nine or ten days. So write to your amaldârs there to get me plenty of birds and game.' I replied, 'I knew you were going there, so I have already written for you to be supplied with plenty of fruit and hunting. I have also ordered you to be received with all respect.' He thanked me much.

M. Boyelleau said that he was going to Chidambaram and I replied to him as I had to M. Guillard. M. Cornet said that he was also going thither and I said the same to him also.[1]

M. Miran then asked me about Alisapâkkam. I said the fault lay with Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti, who had promised that he himself would come and settle the matter.

The Brâhmans then brought a list to M. Barthélemy, etc., showing that 52 bales had been packed, so that, including the 42 bales on hand, the number was 94. Then all dispersed.

Afterwards a peon came and said that the Governor wanted me. When I went, he read to me a letter from the commandant of Vriddhachalam saying that two Company's sepoys and 25 troopers had reached Tittagudi, and asked me about them. I replied, 'When I reported this matter, you said you would write ordering them to be seized on the first opportunity. I

[1] These three were going to inspect the state of the revenue.

have heard nothing fresh. Although we try to avoid disputes, the English have seized the Tittagudi country and are causing disturbances. So we should act suitably.' The Governor told me to write to my amaldârs there to find out how many there were and how many should be despatched against them. I agreed.

I then said, 'Ayyan Sâstri forced his way in to me, besides sending several people to me on his behalf, to secure my forgiveness and protection. He then settled his accounts for 51,000 and odd rupees in the presence of Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti, Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti, Karanapuram Tiruppali Chetti and Kandâl Guruvappa Chetti giving a note fixing the instalments to be paid this year, and he is to pay now 50,000 rupees including the old balance. I took the signatures of the witnesses to both the documents; and it was agreed that he should become amaldâr on his furnishing personal security, that I should appoint my own men as tahsildar and accountant to collect revenue and receive five *per cent.* like those who furnish cash security, while he should be responsible for any profit or loss. An agreement has thus been made and he has paid 30,000 rupees which I have delivered to M. Guillard. He has promised to pay the balance of 20,000 rupees in four or five days, and send the *tôranam* chits to-morrow.

Here are translations of the papers with all details about the dates of payment, and of the paper given last year, agreeing to pay 51,000 and odd rupees whenever demanded. When the Europeans formerly had the renters under them, they said that they had lost 1½ lakhs of rupees. M. Véry stood surety for the Wandiwash country with this Sâstri as renter; M. Solminiac was surety for Gingee with Nârana Sâstri; and they wrote that they had borrowed 10,000 rupees in excess. When I told you that all this was false and that I would prove it, you did not believe me until Ayyan Sâstri had settled the Wandiwash affair. Nârana Sâstri is making proposals about Gingee and it will be settled in two days, when I will give [? the amount]. The same is the case with the other European sureties. As you are dealing with this carefully, falsehood cannot succeed but the truth will appear. After saying all this, I gave him my French *representation*. After reading the three papers, he asked me if it was truo that the Wandiwash affair had been settled as I had written. I said that it had been settled in the presence of four witnesses who had signed to it. The Governor then asked if I did not know that the Europeans had given him their names. 'What further proof is needed?' I asked, 'can any one doubt what he has seen?' To this,

the Governor replied that he would speak to me again after the Gingee affair had been ettled. 'Very good,' I replied.

I then reported that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had agreed to accept 2,40,000 rupees from Yâchama Nâyakkan[1] and two lakhs from Dâmrulwâ[2] inclusive of darbâr expenses and a lakh and a half from the Râjâ of Kârvêti[3] which sums are to be paid at Madras by the sowcars; that he was marching against the other poligars; and that Murtazâ 'Alî Khân had agreed to pay Muhammad 'Alî Khân a lakh of rupees, supplying him with 500 military and 200 horse. I then went to the sorting-godown.

Tuesday, December 9.—At about half-past seven this morning, I went to the Fort. After visiting the parade ground, where the Europeans were drilling, the Governor returned home at eight, and went upstairs, accompanied by the officers. I paid my respects. Two English officers on their way from Madras to Fort St. David also visited the Governor. When they had taken leave, the Governor asked a certain person from these parts (his name I do not know) where the Nânâ was. He replied, 'He is at Poona preparing to attack Salabat Jang.

[1] The Venkatagiri poligar.
[2] The Kalahasti poligar.
[3] Or Bommarâjapâlaiyam.
[4] *27th Kârttigai, Yuva.*

Raghôba and Mulhari Râo Holkar are marching from Delhi with 60,000 horse and the Nânâ is waiting for their arrival. Raghôji Bhônsla's son and Kânôji Bhônsla are halting with 40,000 horse on the banks of the Kistna, meaning to attack Sâvanûr, Bankâpuram and Mysore and settle affairs in the Carnatic.' The Governor replied that the talk of the Nânâ's attacking Salabat Jang was false, but that he had ordered the letters to be translated into French and that he would decide what should be done afterwards. He then told the Nânâ's man to go, so he took leave, and I went to my office in the flower-garden.

The Srîrangam Brâhmans report that they have received letters saying that M. Flacourt sent 50 sepoys to the house of an Âchâriyâr (whose name I do not know), and that these men seized and beat him, stole some money, and ravished the women, so that all classes of Brâhmans and others—10,000 persons in all—assembled together, closed the temples of Srîrangam, and Jambukêswaram and mounted on the *gôpurams*, whereon M. Flacourt fled.

Friday, December 12.[1]—A peon came and said that the Governor wanted me, so I went upstairs. Muhammad Kamâl's son and his son-in-law named Saiyid Husain wrote to

[1] *1st Mârgali,* [*Yuva*].

Muhammad 'Alî Khân that they were bringing their families and that he should be pleased to forgive their father's faults and bestow ground on which to build a tomb for him. Muhammad 'Alî Khân replied inviting him to come. These letters have been intercepted and the head-peon brought the bearer and the letters to the Governor, who sent for me and Madanânda Pandit, gave us 14 or 15 letters and told us to interpret them. The letters mention their deposit of money at Madras and Mylapore, their bringing their families, their request of a parwâna from Muhammad 'Alî Khân, the replies written to Saiyid Fatteh Khân, etc., nobles with Muhammad 'Alî Khân, and the latter's cowle permitting them to come, and their letter to their agents there. Madanânda Pandit read these letters and I interpreted them. They say that they have resolved to depart and join Muhammad 'Alî Khân, that Husain the mahout has troubled them unjustly about Hasan-ud-dîn Khân's dues as if the money were in their hands, but that Hasan-ud-dîn Khân's adopted son Bâqir Miyân, assisted them, undertaking the responsibility, that the matter has been referred to arbitrators and will be settled, that for these reasons they are resolved to depart and that a parwâna from Muhammad 'Alî Khân should be sent to the amaldâr of

Tirupati to provide 20 pagodas for building a tomb over the body of Muhammad Kamâl, together with ten cawnies of land as inam. When the Governor had heard all this, he said that the Muhammadan must be brought to-morrow or the day after, after being questioned and receiving 25 stripes, but till then he must be kept under close guard and this matter was not to be revealed to anybody. It was then half-past twelve. The Governor took back the letters and we came away.

I well know that because Madanânda Pandit has received kindness from Muhammad Kamâl's son, he concealed certain facts when reading the letters. When it was written that he would set out with his family on the first opportunity, Madanânda Pandit added that he would do so with the permission of the Governor. Again when he read the passage about money, he added goods and women's cloths with other deviations. But although I knew that he was doing this, I said nothing, for, as the proverb says, 'Water always stands in a pit.'

Sunday, December 14.[1]—When the Governor had returned to the Fort from church at half-past eight this morning, I went and paid my respects. The Srîrangam Brâhmans presented a

[1] *3rd Mârgali, Yuva.*

petition complaining that M. Flacourt at Srîrangam had sent guards to carry off four women from Nâdamuni Âchâriyâr's house. The Governor read this and gave it to M. Barthélemy, who also read it. I think they have resolved to recall him. I then went to my office in the flower-garden.

Considering the dishonour brought upon the town by the injustice here, I do not think the town will prosper. When Arcot, Trichinopoly, Madras, Mysore, Tanjore, etc., countries were ruined, similar ill-deeds had been done with consequent disturbances. In times of prosperity justice is done and the ruler is obeyed, as I have seen with my own eyes. But now perceiving what takes place here and in the countries belonging to it, I fear what may happen. In fidelity and piety I pray that God will protect the town. But who can resist fate?

Wednesday, December 17.[1]—I paid my respects to M. Leyrit the Governor at the Fort at half-past seven this morning, with others, and I mentioned the sorting of unbleached cloth.

I then reported as follows:—The old poligar of Turaiyûr was Pâpu Reddi's elder brother's son; he fled to Udaiyârpâlaiyam where he collected an army to attack Pâpu Reddi. Our

[1] *6th Mârgali, Yuva.*

commandant, M. Tilly, who was camping outside the Turaiyûr limits with 50 soldiers, sent to Srîrangam for reinforcements from M. Medère on perceiving that Pâpu Reddi had marched out with his army. The French captured Turaiyûr on the night of Friday, December 12. Pâpu Reddi's son who was poligar has fled, as well as Pâpu Reddi who had marched out. M. Tilly has written to the old poligar who had gone to Udaiyârpâlaiyam, and I hear that he will be installed in the fort of Turaiyûr. The Governor said this news was true and that he had heard the same. When M. Barthélemy and others had gone away, I took leave and went to my office in the flower-garden.

Thursday, December 18.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning, I went to the Fort when the Governor received Salabat Jang's letter sealed with his seal and brought by Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Husain the mahout, along with Salabat Jang's presents. Salabat Jang has written that they were bringing elephants, which must be fetched in. I had inquired into his business by arbitrators, and found that money was due to him, which must be paid. When I reported this, the Governor replied that they would not go away

[1] *7th Mârgali, Yuva.*

without their money, and asked what should be done if they proved obstinate. I said that the matter must be arranged by fear or the four kinds of conduct[1]. The Governor said that he had done his best and that he did not know what more could be done.

The Governor gave me French drafts of the letters to be written to Salabat Jang and Haidar Jang. The contents of Salabat Jang's letter are as follows :—' After your becoming master of the Deccan subahs, you strove hard to help the Pâdshâh in his affairs, whereat the Pâdshâh was pleased to give you the title of Madâr-ul-mulk[2] to the joy of all. I am constantly praying that God may bless you with prosperity and health ; I rejoice at your receiving that title ; and I congratulate you, myself, and your people.' Thus a congratulatory Persian letter was written to Salabat Jang on account of the valorous title of Madâr-ul-mulk bestowed on him by the Pâdshâh.

The contents of Coja Qalandar Khân Haidar Jang's letter are as follows :—' I have learnt from M. Bussy's letter of your assistance of the French and your helping them in times of difficulties. May God keep you on our side and not change your mind. I also will behave to your satisfaction.' The Governor told me

[1] See note 2, p. 144 *supra*. [2] *i.e.*, the Pivot of the Realm.

to write in Persian these letters of compliments. Saying I would do so, I received the French drafts and had the letters written by Madanânda Pandit. They were then sealed and given to M. Chevreau.

Friday, December 19.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I meant to visit the Second, but was told that he had gone to his new garden. I went therefore to the Fort and visited the Governor. He said that he was writing letters to M. Bussy and Salabat Jang and asked me if there was any news about Muhammad 'Alî Khân of Arcot. I replied, 'The present Muhammadan month is Rabi-ul-awwal, on the 2nd of which month, corresponding with December 7th, the English flag at Arcot was pulled down and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's flag was hoisted. The fort has been named Muhammad Nûr[2] and a salute of 21 guns was fired. It was proclaimed by beat of tom-tom throughout the Arcot army that Muhammad 'Alî Khân should henceforward be called Umdat-ul-mulk Siraj-ud-daulah Bahâdûr Dilâwar Jang, and that all who failed to do so should be fined.' The Governor asked if this was true, or whether any one had given him the title or whether he had assumed

[1] *8th Mârgali, Yuva.*

[2] Arcot is known among Muhammadans as either Muhammadpûr or Dâr-un-nûr.

it himself. I replied, 'Only yesterday Salabat Jang wrote complaining that although the Subah of Arcot belonged to M. Dupleix, the English and Muhammad 'Alî Khân had seized the country, and were collecting peshkash, etc., from the poligars and killedars. Yâchama Nâyakkan and Dâmalwâr have settled for 2½ lakhs of rupees each and Bommarâja of Kârvêtirâjâpâlaiyam for a lakh of pagodas; but it is uncertain whether their countries are worth so much. The killedar of Vellore has paid a lakh of rupees, and sent assistance. The killedar of Sâtghar has settled for 50,000 rupees. Since he has collected these sums without complaint, who can complain of his title? Does he not know this? Therefore he behaves thus. He seems to be one who behaves calmly and discreetly, without precipitation. I believe this is because the Marathas are strong enough to establish or overthrow the Pâdshâh. The Nânâ has seized Salabat Jang's countries so that only part of the Hyderabad country remains in his possession, but even there he cannot keep order, for he has no money to pay the army and has to wink at much. The Nawâb of Cuddapah is seizing some country; Morâri Râo has seized the country belonging to Coja Nâmat-ul-lah Khân, the subahdar of Adoni, with its dependencies and killas, and the Coja has either fled or been made prisoner.

Yet at such a time he[1] remains quiet and seizes no countries. Moreover when the English have recalled their people, he said that he would entertain those who were willing to serve him for six or seven rupees, and about 3,000 match-lock-people did so. I hear that the day Muhammad 'Alî Khân's flag was hoisted at Arcot, the English flags at the forts of Kâvêripâkkam and Timiri and at the Moghul's posts were also pulled down, and his flag was hoisted instead.' The Governor asked if all this was true. I replied that that was what had been written. Thereon he told me to write it out in French. I did accordingly.

A letter was written to M. Bussy about the Pâdshâh's granting to Salabat Jang the valorous title of Madâr-ul-mulk, with a dress of honour, *kalgi*, etc., concerning which the Governor had written a French letter of compliment to Salabat Jang and [ ].

Saturday, December 27.[2]—I went to the Governor this morning and paid my respects. There is a village called Nâgalpâkkam in the Karunguli country. When a ryot was pulling down an old wall to build a new one, he found a small vessel containing 1,500 copper cash

[1] *i.e.*, Muhammad 'Alî. [2] *16th Mârgali, Yuva.*

buried in the earth. The other ryots reported this to the officer in charge of treasure who showed the vessel to M. du Rocher at Madurantakam, and presented a mahzar attested by the accountant, the deshmukh and others. Muttu Venkatarâma Reddi put the find in a vessel which he sealed up and sent with a cadjan letter to dubâsh Ella Pillai, the renter of the village under M. Véry, the monigar. Muttu Venkatarâma Reddi's man, Yegnam Pattar and dubâsh Ella Pillai brought the pot to my house and reported the matter. I told them to wait upstairs with it at the *Gouvernement* and not to touch the seal. After the cloth had been examined, I went upstairs at ten o'clock and paid my respects to the Governor in his room, placing the sealed vessel before him and reporting the matter to him. He broke the seal, emptied the vessel, and found the copper cash crusted over and the inscription unreadable. He told me to clean the coins, so that the inscription might be read, and then report what it was. So I ordered the coins to be put into the pot again and taken to my house to be cleaned with tamarind.

He then said, 'Two Persian letters came yesterday from Vijayarâma Râjâ ; I think one of them is for you and the other for me ; see if it is so.' As the letters were in Persian,

I could not read them, so I called Madanânda Pandit, who was outside, and told him to read the addresses. He did so and said that one was addressed to me and the other to Pîr Muhammad who had come here from Ganjām. The Governor then told me to report my letter. I told Madanânda Pandit to read it in the Governor's presence. He did so ; it is as follows :—'I rejoiced at your letter asking me to send to Nawâb Azam-ud-daulah Bahâdûr Rustum Jang a letter of compliment with nazars on his accession as Governor of Pondichery. As you wrote thus for my welfare, I will after due deliberation send, if you so order, by a hired vessel, head-dresses suitable to his name. Be pleased to deliver them to him, read my letters to him, and explain all matters. Send me also letters of recommendation to M. Bussy, otherwise called Umdat-ul-mulk, about my mansab jaghir, and to Shaikh Ibrâhîm, together with powder, shot, flints and two or three cannon.' I interpreted the letter to the Governor, as Madanânda Pandit read it. The Governor said he would write to M. Moracin to supply him with powder, shot, etc., and give letters of recommendation to M. Bussy and Shaikh Ibrâhîm. I agreed that that should be done. He then asked who Shaikh Ibrâhîm was. I replied, 'Shaikh Ibrâhîm came with Shaikh Hasan from Mahé.

After 'Abd-ul-rahmân's coming, he was removed and put to trouble ; but M. Dupleix then appointed him sardâr of 500 foot and 300 horse under me on my recommendation. He was subsequently given the title of Nawâb, a mansab of 5,000 horse, the Fish standard and other marks of honour ; when he was sent to Rajahmundry and Ellore, he thought, therefore, that he was like a nawâb sent by Salabat Jang. You well know the present state of things.' The Governor said that, when he was at Mahé, he had known Shaikh Hasan, Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Ibrâhîm, when they could not live as well as a cooly, but that now these men were worth lakhs and called themselves nawâbs. Thus he spoke of them for about an hour.

The Governor then said that he had heard nothing of Muhammad 'Alî Khân and his present relations with the English. I replied that since I had reported to him last, I had heard that Muhammed 'Alî Khân had been very sick.

The Governor then said, 'I hear that a certain Brâhman has gone from here to Chêtpattu. Who is he, and who sent him ?' I replied that he had been sent by the Governor's order but that, as he had not behaved properly, he had been recalled, as I had reported. The Governor told me again to

enquire and let him know by whom he was sent. I said I would do so.

The Governor then told me he had received a letter from the commandant of Vriddhachalam saying that as the Udaiyâr's people had driven off the cattle from the Vriddhachalam country, he had written severely to the Udaiyâr, and had seized cattle in retaliation. 'That's right,' I replied, 'for otherwise they would certainly not keep quiet; some foot and horse should be sent into their jungles to alarm them. As for the Tittagudi affair,' I added, 'troops should be sent to capture the place, otherwise they will not keep quiet, as I formerly wrote in French. You agreed that it should be done. Let it be done now.'—'I will do as you say,' the Governor replied.

Sunday, December 28.[1]—This morning M. Saubinet and others took leave of the Governor and set out for Villiyanallûr, as to-day has been chosen as an auspicious day for consecrating the walls of the new-built fort, christening it, and hoisting the flag. I took leave of the Governor and went to my office in the flower-garden.

This afternoon a letter was received from Mangâ Pillai, amaldâr of Villiyanallûr, saying that the fort had been christened and the flag

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[1] *17th Mârgali, Yuva.*

hoisted under a salute of 21 guns, but that, as a gun went off before the European who cleaned it out and inserted the powder could get away, as he was still standing at its mouth, he was severely burnt, and carried off dying in a cot-palankin to Pondichery. People say that, as this evil omen occurred when the flag was hoisted over the fort, the guns were fired, and a festival held for the first time, thus occasioning a human sacrifice, none can tell what may happen.

I heard to-day that Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan, the Mysore vakîl, who has come back from Villiyanallûr after staying there three days, visited Pâpayya Pillai's where he conferred with Madanânda Pandit and others and wrote a letter to Mysore which was sent off last night; and I hear that other vain talk took place. I think this is because Nandi Râjâ had promised to give M. and Mme. Dupleix a certain sum every year; and Pâpayya Pillai has spread a rumour that M. Dupleix is coming back, making much of it, and declaring that the country will be given back to him. He is going about writing accounts of the revenue and conversing with many. I think he has written about this in hopes of getting money to be distributed among his friends; I suppose this is why he has written to Dêvarâja Udaiyâr and Nandi Râjâ, for I know that,

six months ago, a letter was written to Mysore saying that Madame had promised to give 18,000 rupees to Madanânda Pandit in the Tirupati affair, and that Venkatanârayanappa Ayyan and Madanânda Pandit received the sum which they shared equally. Probably for the same reason they have written again about the affair they know of. I write accordingly.

Mysore Venkatanârayanappa Ayyan who has come back after staying four days at Villiyanallûr, visited me this evening, and returned to Villiyanallûr. Everything will be known in seven or eight days.

There is also news that a letter has been brought to-day by a harkara from Chêtpattu replying to Pâpayya Pillai's letter sent by a Brâhman ten days ago to Zuhûr Muhammad Khân, killedar of Chêtpattu. This confirms the suspicion which the Governor mentioned yesterday. I must see what happens, before reporting to the Governor.

Monday, December 29.[1]—I hear that Kônêri Nâyakkan, vakîl of Venkatâchala Reddi, younger brother of Kunnayyan, old poligar of Turaiyûr, visited M. Leyrit the Governor by means of M. du Bausset, with presents of a laced dress of honour and a *turra* set with

[1] *18th Mârgali, Yuva.*

precious stones in order to secure the poligarship for Venkatâchala Reddi, this month and the removal of Pâpu Reddi's son; they went away after discussing various affairs. I also hear that Venkatâchala Reddi (Kunnayyan's younger brother) is at Udaiyârpâlaiyam whence as soon as the money matter is settled, he is to be taken and installed as poligar; he is therefore busy about the money.

Tuesday, December 30.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to the Fort, and paid my respects to the Governor. I reported that, on receipt of news at Arcot of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's illness, his mother had left for camp, that Sampâti Râo had departed to Madras as his hands and legs had swollen so that there was no hope of his recovery; that the English flag would be hoisted at Arcot on Sunday; but that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's flag hoisted on the 2nd of Rabi-ul-awwal was still flying; and that Guruva Râjâ, the chief minister of Kârvêtirâjâpâlaiyam and Uyyâl Sêshâchala Nâyakkan, poligar of certain villages in the Karunguli and Chingleput countries, had died.

The Governor at once went downstairs with M. [Sau]binet to examine accounts in M. Bourquenoud's and M. Cornet's offices. I went to my office in the flower-garden.

[1] *19th Mârgali, Yuva.*

APPENDIX

(See above, pages 228 and 241.)

LETTER FROM ÂNANDA RANGA PILLAI TO M. DE LEYRIT, MARCH 29, 1755.

MONSEIGNEUR, M. Godeheu s'étant informé de quelle façon les Malabars employés au service de la Compagnie se comportaient dans les emplois dont ils étaient chargés, et ayant reconnu par les informations qu'il en a fait qu'ils y commettaient des abus très prejudiciables aux interêts de la Compagnie, parcequ'ils s'étaient soustraits depuis 1751 de l'obligation où ils ont été de tous tems de venir faire rapport au Courtier de ce qui concerne chacun leur district, fit assembler le 2 Janvier dernier dans le Gouvernement les marchands, paliagars, et autres Malabars employés au service de la Compagnie et leur declara qu'il entendait et prétendait que doresnavant ils eussent à venir chaque jour faire leur rapport, comme cela s'était pratiqué au tems de Mr. Martin et continué sous le Gouvernement de ses successeurs. Ils s'y sont conformés pendant le tems que reste Mr. Godeheu, mais depuis son départ ils s'en sont dispensés et n'approchent point de moy. Viniagan, écrivain des dépenses journalières de la Compagnie, a fait revenir de Cheringan un nommé Moutayé, écrivain principal de l'armée, parcequ'il ne pouvait pas se prêter aux mauvaises manœuvres qu'il lui conseillait de faire, et l'a gardé chez lui en prison l'espace de trois mois, et a mis le scellé dans sa maison sur tous ses effets, et non content de cette violence lui a fait souffrir les châtiments les plus injurieux et les traitements les plus indignes. Moutayé, qui savait par l'expérience et qui prévoyait bien la façon rigoureuse dont en userait à son égard Viniagan, se munit en partant de Cheringan d'une

lettre pour Mr. Godeheu de Mr. Maissin, commandant alors, qu'il fit remettre avec une requête par laquelle il lui rendrait compte de la conduite de Viniagan, qui continua de le maltraiter de plus en plus, ce qui obligea l'oncle de Moutayé de présenter aussi requête à Mr. Godeheu qui me l'a remit et me chargea de faire les informations sur les griefs dont Viniagan était accusé. En conséquence je le fis venir avec Moutayé pour les interroger. Viniagan voyant que Moutayè le chargeait me tira à part et me pria instamment de vouloir bien le ménager, en ajoutant qu'il m'en marquerait sa reconnaisance. Mais je n'y eus aucun regard et j'en fis mon rapport à Mr. Godeheu, qui me remit la requête qui lui avait été présentée, aussi que celle de[—]qu'il a sçu par ses intrigues destituer de son employ, et m'ordonna de garder chez moy Moutayé jusqu'à votre arrivée, Monseigneur, pour vous rendre compte de cette affaire, en me disant qu'il voyait que la Compagnie était volée impunément avec d'autant plus de peine qu'étant sur le point de son départ il ne pouvait sévir comme il convenait contre Viniagan, mais qu'il était persuadé que vous ne manqueries pas d'approfondir à fond toutes ses malversations, étant surprenant qu'un écrivain comme lui qui n'a jamais fait aucun commerce soit devenu riche de lacs de roupies dans l'espace de trois ans qu'il a cette emploi, qui démontre manifestement qu'il a lézé fortement la Compagnie dans sa gestion. Quelques jours après le départ de Mr. Godeheu Viniagan de son autorité privée envoya prendre de force chez moy Moutayé par quatre cipayes. J'en fus aussitôt porter mes plaintes à Mr. Barthélemy, qui était dans la chambre de Conseil avec Mr. Boyelleau, et lui représentay que puisque Mr. Godeheu m'avait ordonné de garder Moutayé chez moy, il ne convenait pas qu'étant par ma charge et à tous égards superieur à Viniagan qui n'est que Ecrivain de la Caisse il agit avec de pareilles violences ; sur mes représentations Mr. Barthélemy lui ordonna de venir me faire des excuses et le menaça de

lui donner le chabouc si doresnavant il tombait en pareilles fautes, mais je le remerciai et lui dis que j'étais sufisament satisfait de la semonce qu'il venait de lui faire.

Viniagan voyant que ses raisons n'avaient point été écoutées en cette occasion usa de stratagème, en [ ] avec le dobachy de Mr. Barthélemy, qui de concert avec lui inventa vraysemblablement des prétextes qui le déterminèrent trois jours après de faire mettre Moutayé au cachot, où il est encore, sans m'avoir fait l'honneur de m'en prévenir, quoiqu'il n'ignorait pas que Mr. Godeheu l'avait laissé à ma garde et m'avait ordonné de vous informer de cette affaire.

J'aurais cru que Mr. Barthélemy se serait content de donner cette satisfaction à Viniagan, mais j'ai été surpris que n'ignorant point les plaintes qui sont depuis longtems portées contre lui, il se soit porté aussi promptement malgré la recommandation de Chanda Saeb à le decorer en lui permettant de porter un rondel et d'entrer dans le fort en pallanquin, honneur qui n'a été accordé de tous les tems qu'au Courtier et que Mr. Dupleix, dont il a sçu captiver les bonnes graces, n'a jamais voulu lui conférer, quoiqu'il ait fait jouer tous les ressorts possibles pour l'obtenir.

Les nommés Chamorayo, cy-devant avaldar de Vattalou et Balachetty d'intelligence avec le dobachy de Mr. Barthélemy, lui portaient des plaintes contre le nommé Madavarayo ; il les renvoya devant moy pour lui faire rapport de leur discussion qui provenait d'un compte concernant Balachetty. Balachetty et ce dobachy présumant bien que je ne manquerais pas de dévoiler leurs manœuvres prévinrent par de faux rapports Mr. Barthélemy qui fit mettre Madavarayo à la Chaudrie d'où il envoya une requête à Mr. Godeheu ; par la requête il lui représentait que Chamarayo de concert avec ce dobachy s'était fait payer d'un état de cipayes dont ils avaient doublé le nombre et auxquels il etait dû plusieurs mois sans cependant avoir payé une partie de ceux qui y étaient dénommés, ce qui est la cause qu'ils ont quitté notre service et ont pris

party avec Mirsaeb Gemidar de la forteresse d'Elavanasourt aujourdhui devenu notre ennemi.

Mr. Godeheu me donna ordre de m'en informer ; en conséquence je fis venir Chamarayo qui m'avoua le fait ; j'en rendis compte à Mr. Godeheu qui n'ayant point le tems d'examiner cette affaire me chargea de vous en faire mon rapport ; ensuite Madavarayo et Chamarayo s'étant reconciliés ensemble par l'entremise de Balachetty et de ce dobachy, et ayant fait de connivence sur la paye des cipayes de doubles employs dont je vous fournirai des preuves, ont trouvé le secret d'obtenir le poste de commandants des cipayes tant de cavallerie que d'infanterie à Elavanasourt ; en outre, je vous préviens, Monseigneur, qu'ils sont redevables chacuns suivant les comptes de Papiapoullé de 150 ou 200 mil roupies qu'il conviendrait de faire rentrer dans la Caisse de la Compagnie ; Mr. Barthélemy sçait parfaitement bien que Mr. Godeheu qui avait assigné la paye des cipayes sur les revenus de la province avait ordonné pour empêcher ces abus à Mr. De Larche qui régissait cy-devant de certifier chaque mois les états, et que depuis qu'il m'a adjugé les fermes de cette province, il me l'a enjoint aussi, mais cette ordre n'a plus eu lieu, ce qui est bien préjudiciable aux intérêts de la Compagnie, parceque les cipayes n'étant plus payés comme auparavant dans chaque aldée ou ils sont postés, ne se mettent guère en devoir de donner main forte aux avaldars quand l'occasion le requiert et même se portent plus volontiers à protéger l'habitant qui ne demande pas mieux qu'à eluder les payemens qu'il doit faire au fermier qui se trouve par ce moyen embarassé pour accelerer la rentrée des fonds.

Mr. Godeheu m'ayant chargé d'examiner les affaires de Papiapoullé et de ses agents, ainsi que de celle de Paramanandan, ordonna à Mr. Goupil à me les envoyer sous escorte toutesfois et quantes je les demanderais ; j'envoyai chercher Paramanandan, mais Mr. Goupil me fit dire qu'il n'avait ordre

que de m'envoyer Papiapoullé et ses agents ; j'en avertisse Mr. Godeheu qui recidiva ses ordres pour m'envoyer aussi Paramanandan qui vint à la maison et après l'avoir interrogé sur les faits dont j'avais connaissance et qu'il ne put désavouer, il me pria de vouloir bien par ma mediation le sauver des châtimens qu'il méritait ; j'en fis également mon rapport à Mr. Godeheu qui me donna ordre de vous en informer à votre arrivee.

Viniagan, Chamarayo et Paramanandan apréhendant avec raison les rigueurs de la justice, m'ont fait des offres considérables pour m'engager à déguiser leurs fautes ; Viniagan voyant que Moutayé le chargeait quand je l'interrogé me tira apart et promit de me donner 20 mil roupies ; Chamarayo m'envoya Balachetty et Çrinvasarao m'offrir 10 mil roupies ; Paramanandan de son coté aussi me promit 20 mil roupies pour le payement desquelles il me fit un billet cautionné par quatre personnes que j'ai entre les mains ; comme Mr. Godeheu était extrêmement embarassé pour son départ et qu'il m'avait ordonné de vous rendre compte de toutes ces differentes affaires j'ai attendu votre arrivée pour vous en faire part.

Mr. Godeheu, Mr. Dupleix, et Mrs. leurs prédecesseurs sous les ordres desquels j'ai été, m'ayant fait l'honneur de m'accorder leur estime et leur confiance, j'ai tout lieu de me flatter que vous voudriez bien me faire le même faveur et avoir égard, Monseigneur, aux representations que j'ai l'honneur de vous faire dans le présent memoire ; mon unique motif n'étant que de vous prouver mon désinteressement, mon zèle à remplir mon devoir et à contribuer au bien de la service de la Compagnie dont les interêts me sont chers.

Je suis avec le plus profond respect,
Monseigneur,
Votre tres humble et tres obéissant Serviteur,
RANGAPPA.

29 Mars, 1755.

NOMINAL INDEX